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The fifth in a series of reports related to long-range educational planning includes five papers presented at a conference in Albuquerque March 21-22, 1968. The first paper outlines the primary goals of an educational program and considers implications of the program for the curriculum, instructional practices, supporting services, evaluation, teacher education, and continuing education. The second paper analyzes basic issues and decision making aspects of operational problems. The third paper reviews the local school system and presents five organizational models for educational governance--(1) state operated, (2) regional, (3) local with an intermediate unit, (4) local as a part of the city or county government, and (5) regional education planning and service units with local operating school districts. The fourth paper considers the state educational organization, analyzes forces influencing decision making, describes the functions of a state education department, reviews features of the state board, outlines factors for selecting the chief state school officer, and projects organizational and administrative changes in state departments of education. The fifth paper considers the economics and financing of education and describes eight alternative models for state participation in public school financing. Related documents are ED 013 477, ED 013 479, ED 013 481, and ED 018 008. (JK)

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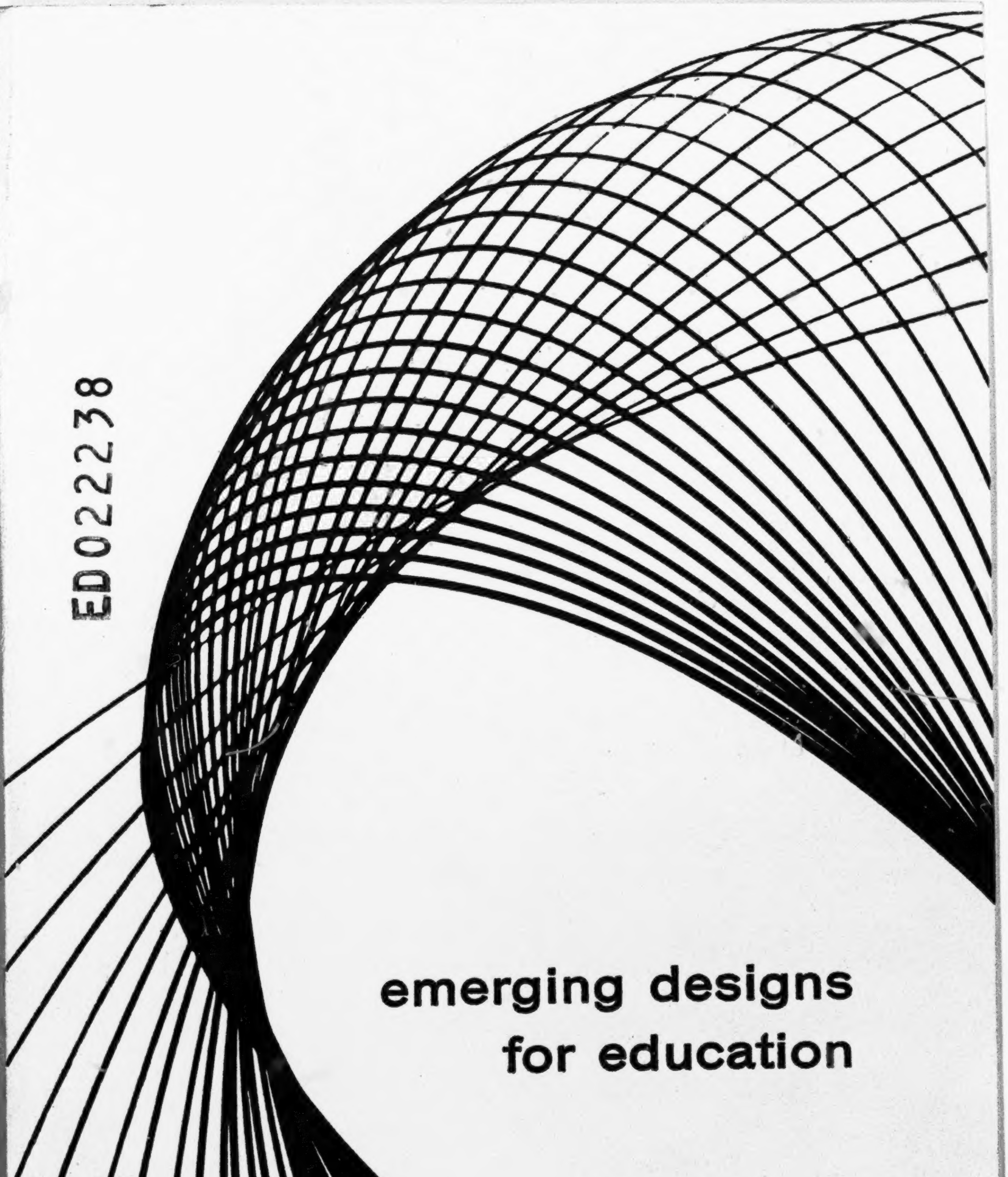

emerging designs for education

EA 001 452

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EMERGING DESIGNS FOR EDUCATION:
Program, Organization, Operation and Finance

Reports Prepared For
An Area Conference

DESIGNING EDUCATION FOR THE FUTURE:
An Eight-State Project

Denver, Colorado
May, 1968

Edited by
Edgar L. Morphet and David L. Jesser

Designing Education for the Future:

An Eight-State Project

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Note: The project supply of the first four reports—*Prospective Changes in Society by 1980, Implications for Education of Prospective Changes in Society, Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Education,* and *Cooperative Planning for Education in 1980*—has been exhausted. However, each of these reports has been reprinted and copies may be obtained from Citation Press, Scholastic Magazines, Inc., 904 Sylvan Ave., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632.

FOREWORD

Public education in the United States during recent years has been involved in a series of crises. Projections for the years ahead, based on the best evidence available, indicate clearly that even more serious crises are likely to occur unless we can do a more effective job of planning to meet present and future needs.

During the past few years considerable progress has been made in adapting education to the needs of modern society. Educators, sociologists, political scientists, and others strongly suggest that in addition to adjusting education to the needs of society, we must anticipate and plan to deal with emerging problems and thus to some degree, achieve control of the future. As Laurence Haskew indicated in an earlier volume of this series, education must be at the same time a *creature* and a *creator* of its own context.

The project, *Designing Education for the Future,* was conceived and organized as a result of serious concern about problem areas discernable in the future of education. It is based on a belief that many potential problem situations in education can be resolved, or at least alleviated, if an appropriate system of comprehensive planning is developed and implemented. Such a system must: (1) be based on pertinent information; (2) provide goals and direction; and (3) set forth reasonable alternatives from which decision makers can choose a defensible course of action. It must also involve meaningfully the people who ultimately will have to make the decisions.

Fortunately this project has already had a significant impact on education in the participating states and, to some extent, in other areas. It has provided for educators and lay leaders information and insights that have stimulated and facilitated serious planning for the future.

We are pleased to offer the present volume in the hope that it will contribute even further to the improvement of planning processes for the years ahead, including priorities for the immediate future.

Byron W. Hansford
Chairman, Policy Board

INTRODUCTION

The mounting evidence indicates clearly that important changes will need to be made in almost every aspect of education during the next few years. Will most of these changes be made when they are needed, or will serious lags tend to continue? Will all of the changes that are made result in improvements in education, or will some of them be harmful from a long-range point of view? Modern man, by utilizing the scientific method, his knowledge of how to invent, and his sense of values, can control much of the future for the benefit of mankind if he desires to do so.

In education, as in medicine, we cannot afford either to do the wrong thing or to neglect to do something that is needed if there is any way of avoiding such a mistake. There is too much at stake not only for the potential learners but also for the society in which we and they will live. The notion that people should accept an educational fad because it is popular, or jump on a band wagon because it seems to have prestige, should not be accepted in a modern society that presumably relies on the scientific method for progress.

Fortunately, in many aspects of education, there are defensible theories and research findings that can provide some guidance. We have learned many things from experience as well as from studies. For example, we know that a static curriculum will not meet the needs of a changing society, that small school districts are costly and inefficient, that weak local and state leadership tends to result in serious problems and even in federal encroachments, and that major reliance on local funds or on the property tax for financing education is no longer realistic or feasible.

We also know that, by planning for the future, we can avoid some developments that would be unfortunate and facilitate others that would be advantageous. On the basis of available evidence and by utilizing sound judgment, we can identify appropriate objectives and modify them, if necessary, as additional evidence and insights become available. In some cases there will be alternate objectives that seem almost equally acceptable, at least until we explore the implications of each. Alternate methods of achieving an objective should also be identified. An analysis of the inputs required and of the costs and benefits of each will usually be helpful in arriving at a decision as to which would be most advantageous.

Thus, planning for education has advanced far beyond the stage of dreaming or merely speculating. In education, as in other affairs, long-range planning has become essential, and when properly utilized, can help to avoid serious and costly mistakes.

The papers included in this publication, which were presented and discussed at a conference at Albuquerque, March 21-22, do not constitute a blueprint or even a plan for education for the future. That was not the purpose. In this country, any plan must necessarily be developed and implemented by the people in each state and local school system. The people in the states involved in this project have accepted the responsibility for, and are in the process of, developing plans in these areas.

These papers are designed to contribute to that end. For that reason, they are not just essays or statements of the positions of the authors about prospective developments. Instead, the authors have attempted to identify some of the emerging needs and trends and to point out feasible alternative courses of action. In some of the more controversial areas in particular they have undertaken something that has all too seldom been done—that is, to give the implications or the advantages and disadvantages of alternative courses of action. When a similar procedure is followed by groups concerned with planning, the evidence thus provided and summarized may serve to focus the attention of everyone concerned on some objectives and procedures that are far more defensible than others.

In the area of financial support, for example, there are still some political leaders and even educators in many states who strongly advocate "a simple plan" for apportioning funds for schools that is usually based on flat grants. Yet such a plan is clearly shown to be inequitable for both taxpayers and students. Several other frequently proposed "plans," if adopted, would result in similar problems. Thus, the defensible "alternatives" that should be carefully studied can readily be reduced to two or three, or to some combination of these.

Similarly, in terms of local school and school system organization and operation, state educational organization and operation, and of the educational program itself, there are many possible alternatives that can readily be identified, on the basis of evidence currently available, as indefensible for one reason or another. Thus, in planning, one of the concerns should be to identify, eliminate—and explain the reasons for eliminating—alternatives that may, at first, seem plausible but actually are not defensible. Major attention can then be centered on determining the implications of, and deciding among, the smaller number that are relatively defensible.

This publication is designed to break some new ground and provide additional insights that will facilitate planning in each of the states. Thus it should constitute a valuable supplement to the earlier publications* that were designed to provide insights and basic concepts relating to prospective changes in society, to the implications for education, and to planning and change processes.

Edgar L. Morphet
Project Director

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*See note, bottom of page iv

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Teaching and the imparting of knowledge make sense in an unchanging environment. This is why it has been an unquestioned function for centuries. But if there is one truth about modern man, it is that he lives in an environment which is continually changing.

We are . . . faced with an entirely new situation in education where the goal of education, if we are to survive, is the facilitation of change and learning. The only man who is educated is the man who has learned how to learn; the man who has learned how to adapt and change; the man who has realized that no knowledge is secure, that only the process of seeking knowledge gives a basis for security. . . .

I see the facilitation of learning as the aim of education, the way in which we might develop the learning of man, the way in which we can learn to live as individuals in process. I see the facilitation of learning as the function which may hold constructive, tentative, changing, process answers to some of the deepest perplexities which beset man today.

Carl R. Rogers

Youth is, by nature, future oriented . . . . The introduction of future oriented studies, projects and activities into educational curricula at different levels would generate new foci of interest in many areas. Such studies would, at the very least, provide more directly creative exercise for the imagination than is presently found in traditional education; they would be integrative of materials from many presently fragmented studies and, importantly, they would be less predetermined than so much currently oriented work—hence, more open and available to individually active participation.

John McHale

CHAPTER 1

The Educational Program:

Part One

CLIFFORD F. S. BEBELL *

Education is a self-directing and self-correcting process. At any given moment, those responsible for the schools must make decisions that serve to move education forward. Yet, it is often difficult to know which direction is "forward".

So, decisions are made in the terms of the best judgment available at the moment; action is inaugurated, and the results are examined in one way or another. In light of the feedback thus obtained, the concept of "forward" is revised, and the process repeated.

In brief, education is like a vastly complex, self-guiding organism. Ends are established which imply means, and the means employed yield results that require reappraisal of the ends. At any point in the process, people must make decisions based on the implicit assumption that they can predict the future—even as they know that the future may depend upon unforeseen consequences of their decisions.

This paper is an effort to provide a starting point for this process. A serious attempt to anticipate the educational program that will meet the needs of the future represents the best basis we presently have to make plans and decisions carefully. But, it is only a beginning, and hopefully will result in a continuous process of evaluation which will yield better insights each time around.

Societal Changes and Education

In estimating the educational needs of the future, one must forecast and analyze the future. This matter was considered at a conference in Denver sponsored by Designing Education for the Future in mid 1966. (See the report, *Prospective Changes in Society by 1980.*) Some major trends were identified: (1) automation; (2) urbanization and its concomitants; (3) communication; (4) breakthroughs in biology; and (5) breakdowns in religious, ethical and moral concepts.

This list does not include all significant societal changes—not even all of those receiving prominent attention at the Denver meeting. At least two other major areas should be stressed. The first might be called the *search for human identity*. Some of its elements include: (1) the struggle for human equality; (2) the war on poverty; (3) the changing balance in work and leisure time and (4) the many faces of rebellion and protest.

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International understanding is another vital area. Some of its significant components are the following: (1) the threat of nuclear warfare; (2) the emergence of many new nations; (3) the determination of the colored races to achieve their legitimate positions; (4) the population explosion and the concomitant crisis in food production; (5) the ever-increasing and more visible disparity between the "haves" and the "have nots"; (6) the ideological struggle between democratic and communistic systems; (7) the emergence of person-to-person forms of international relations (such as the Peace Corps); and (8) the rise of programs for international cooperation (like the Common Market).

These trends make it clear that the world is changing at an ever-accelerating pace, with the probability of further developments as yet unforeseen. All agree on this fact of change. Indeed, perhaps it is the fact of change alone which is not subject to further alteration. In consequence, the future will demand citizens who have been trained to *think* rather than primarily to remember. Increasingly, the information available to an individual in school may become outmoded, irrelevant, or superseded before his working life is over. His continuing effectiveness should reside in his ability to solve problems and continue learning, rather than be based on his prior training and the knowledge acquired in formal schooling. As Peterson puts it, the world will demand:

> ...a person with genuine flexibility and freedom, a person who thrives on sensing and solving problems as complex and subtle and new as the technological environment of tomorrow. In this new world, *rigidity may actually be a greater barrier to progress than ignorance.*1* (Italics added)

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

There is widespread acceptance of the need for a flexible, problem-solving kind of man—at least in theory. In practice, one does not see as much classroom activity designed to develop this man as one would wish. Nor, without some drastic impetus, does the situation seem likely to change. Somewhat gloomily Brickell predicted (regretfully) that "Very probably . . . if one opens the door of a typical 1980 classroom and walks inside, the teacher will be standing up front talking," (p. 216, *Implications for Education of Prospective Changes in Society*).

And yet, we *must* change—and the change should be greater than anything thus far envisioned. We can not develop a new kind of man by means of a curriculum loaded with facts and a classroom loaded with routines. *The new kind of man will require a new kind of teacher and a new kind of education.*

What are some of the implications of the developments listed above?

Automation. Automation is the symbol of change—of the knowledge explosion. The capacity of machines to remember vast quantities of data, and to calculate and report at mind-shattering speeds, reminds us that no man can possess all knowledge; that perhaps each will become increasingly less able even to possess a substantial fraction. The capacity of machines to run machines, and to do many of the jobs men have hitherto done suggests a world not only that one cannot foresee, but one in which many learnings the schools have emphasized for generations may no longer be needed. Both in new learnings associated with automation which must be included in the curriculum, and in such technical additions to school programs as automated classrooms and sophisticated data processing, the new machine age presents a strong challenge to education.

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* Numbers refer to footnote references at end of Part One, Chapter 1.

Urbanization. Urbanization brings with it so many implications for education that curriculum makers must surely tend to despair! The problems of intricate and explosive human relations, the flood of population shifts, and a noxious and noisome environment cry out for a "new man" with new insights and approaches to the solution of problems. It is disturbing to think that perhaps the problems of certain urban areas of today may be the problems of all tomorrow. These problems press on all of us and on the schools; there is not enough room in the school schedule to consider them all. We must have citizens who are able to deal flexibly with problems as they arise and schools to teach them this skill.

Communication. The task of communication provides us with all kinds of educational challenges. We have limitless capacity for dealing with people by the millions and for interacting with others on a worldwide basis. The power of mass communication is the power to sway men's minds on a staggering scale. We need individuals who can understand and deal effectively with propaganda techniques; persons who can mold their own tastes, rather than permit them to become the product of commercial television's lowest common denominator; and citizens whose awareness of other peoples of the world is equalled only by their determination to understand and aid those peoples.

Biological Breakthroughs. The breakthroughs in biology are as much a challenge to morals as they are to life processes—perhaps even more so. Our scientists may be leading us to a crisis in conscience no less sharp than the one the men of the Manhattan project thrust upon the world at Hiroshima. The ability to mold or even to create individuals through genetic research can only lead to the need for grave decisions. We must have citizens capable of coping with such difficult ethical issues.

Moral, Ethical and Religious Concepts. Yet another trend mentioned earlier is that of the breakdowns in religious, ethical, and moral concepts. Perhaps "breakdowns" is not the right word. But at least great changes have taken place within the past generation. They seem likely to accelerate as men become more able and willing to think for themselves. There is much hypocrisy and rigidity in the *mores* of our society. It is inevitable that the ability to analyze and to think will result in the questioning of long-accepted formulae. From the days of Socrates, free thinkers have disturbed society. And yet, they are often needed to stir society out of its somnolence. Increasingly, both teachers and students must engage in the thoughtful examination of their convictions and act from conscious belief rather than on the basis of blind obedience.

Search for Human Identity. All of us are seeking to find ourselves and our role in a society that is marred with poverty, segregation and dehumanization. Both those who give and those who get unequal treatment struggle to understand themselves and their feelings. Often, this struggle results in rebelliousness or belligerence. The schools have a challenge to aid everyone in self-understanding and improvement in the human condition.

International Understanding. A concern for international understanding may well be the most pressing need of society and the first priority of the schools. The trends concerned with international affairs cited above reveal an urgency and a quality of human need that are difficult and dangerous to deny. *Once again they suggest that we must be concerned with ethics as well as with ideas.* The "new man" must have a morality to match his mentality.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION IN THE EIGHT-STATE AREA.

What does all this mean for the states involved in this project? We are part of the nation and the world, but we differ in some ways from other regions and peoples. What are our unique priorities and concerns?

Many of the implications for people in these states are the same as for everyone else. We face the challenge of automation and communication equally with others, as well as the changing balance between work and leisure. The new scientific breakthroughs and the need for international understanding are as important for us as for the rest of the nation, and indeed for the whole world. Perhaps the only trends which might affect our area differently (primarily in degree) from others are the following: (1) urbanization and its concomitants; (2) breakdowns in religious, ethical and moral concepts; and (3) the search for human identity.

This is not to imply that these states are not—or should not be—concerned with these social and ethical issues. But our population is less dense, and the hazards and by-products of urbanization generally less immediate than in many places. Moreover, breakdowns in religious, ethical and moral concepts do not seem so prevalent in these states.

Of course, we are deeply concerned with human values. And yet, the crisis of conscience regarding human inequality does not seem so intense as elsewhere. Poverty is not so widespread nor is it such an acute problem as in Appalachia or certain urban complexes.

But, in spite of what seems to be some amelioration in our circumstances, it is both dangerous and unwise to assume much change in our educational needs based upon real or presumed differences between our states and others. For one thing, such assumed differences tend to lead to, or to be the reflection of, smugness—a rigidity of the kind Peterson deplores. For another, our states have experienced and will continue to experience great mobility of population, with both in- and out-migration, and our students are almost as likely to face many of the social issues outlined above as anyone else. Finally, the importance of human beings and their rights—of human relationships and of their values—is so great that even if a problem is less acute or more remote it must still receive a high priority.

In effect, then, the educational problems of the nation are those of this area. Communication and transportation have destroyed the old barriers of time and space, and have made a farce out of any policies of isolation. The schools of the eight states with which we are primarily concerned must face the societal changes and forces that have been outlined, and must find ways of providing the area and the world with citizens capable of coping.

Goals for Education

A first step in planning for the future is to decide upon our aims—to identify the qualities which future citizens should possess. We must produce a statement of goals, or at least point the way for others to do so.

Goal statements abound in education. From the Committee of Ten in 1894 to the Educational Policies Commission in recent years, educators and others have formulated objectives. The Seven Cardinal Principles of 1918 strongly resemble those listed by state departments of education, school districts, and professional organizations today. These various statements are usually good; they are basically in harmony—indeed, often quite alike; and yet, they do not seem to satisfy.

Two facts are uncomfortably apparent: (1) most statements are not meaningful to most persons; and (2) the goals contained in them are often not implemented. Perhaps the second of these phenomena is the result of the first.

Our task is that of avoiding statements which continue these difficulties or reiterate existing formulations, while still indicating important educational outcomes. Four topics will be considered: (1) the task of goal formulation; (2) the goals we accept; (3) the challenge of change and implementation; and (4) implications for goal formulation.

THE TASK OF GOAL FORMULATION

Lists of educational goals have been of many kinds: long or short, explicit or general, simple or elaborate. Two continuing problems face those who work on them: (1) the terms in which goals should be expressed; and (2) the basis on which the statement should be organized.

Behavioral Terms. One procedure which has often been recommended has been the formulation of goals in "behavioral" terms. Briefly, this means that goals should be stated in such concrete language that, to anyone observing a student's behavior, the extent to which he has achieved the goals—or any goal as stated—is readily apparent.

On the surface this seems like a common-sense proposal. In practice it frequently amounts to something else. For example, to translate the goal of good citizenship into behavioral terms means to describe the specific actions of a good citizen in all the realistic contexts that such action can be found. This is not only difficult in terms of choosing the behaviors which truly reflect good citizenship, but is also almost endless, since the locales for good citizenship multiply interminably. A glance at French's book, *Behavioral Goals of General Education in the High School,*[2] reveals that 247 pages were found necessary to formulate this statement. A document of such length and complexity becomes difficult indeed to use, both because it is easy even for an educator to become lost in details and because legitimate differences of opinion exist concerning the behavioral implications of any given outcome. There is also the likelihood that many specific behaviors have been overlooked.

So we must try to avoid both statements that are so general as to be meaningless and those which are so specific as to be useless. It is important to state outcomes in terms of behavior, and it is possible to do so. This issue is discussed further on pp. 16-19, and suggestions for writing goals behaviorally may be found there.

Organizing Goals. Another important task facing those who formulate goals is that of determining the categories that are significant, and the subordinate areas within categories that are important enough to merit formulation. In the process, one must again avoid two extremes.

One extreme is a list which does not reveal order and system. The goals it presents often seem to be fortuitous jottings of individuals who have thought casually about the matter. On the other hand, too great a dedication to developing taxonomies and placing all goal statements in water-tight compartments represents the opposite extreme. Statements of goals can range from the most brief to the most extended. French and Bloom[3] are two persons whose analyses have been most detailed. On the other hand, *Goals for Education in Colorado* (discussed later) is so brief that many find it more useful as a statement of position than as a guide for action.

It is difficult to decide what is a reasonable limit between too much detail and too little. However, when a decision must be made, it is probably best to err on the side of too little. Such a result provides greater flexibility for individual communities and schools to make their own adaptations than does the latter. It also avoids the difficulty that arises when over-detailed statements find an audience for whom one or more of the statements are not applicable. The goals which will be discussed in a later section include only four areas. It is hoped this provides enough detail to be useful to persons developing their own goal statements, without being too prescriptive.

THE GOALS WE ACCEPT

The approach used in trying to avoid both too much and too little elaboration consists of examining some existing statements of goals, followed by identification of important types of goals and a consideration of the special concerns of the states involved in this project.

Analysis of Existing Statements. Anyone who reads much in education becomes somewhat knowledgeable—even jaundiced—on the subject of goals. He feels he can often tell in advance what a statement will say. Downey, after making an analysis of curriculum materials, stated:

> The rapidity with which redundancy became operative was amazing. Statements of considerable notability were frequently found to be nothing more than re-statements of others previously expressed. After the first ten statements had been consolidated into one synthesized statement, it could be predicted with almost complete confidence that the synthesis would include all of the eleventh, and so on.[4]

This redundancy is strongly evident to anyone who has read many statements. However, it does have an advantage. One can look at a rather small number of existing publications, and get a good idea of what emphases and elements are typically present.

Recently, the Texas Governor's Committee on Public School Education made an analysis of statements from Maryland, Massachusetts, Oregon and Pennsylvania. They found all elements in them could be classified and arranged under the following six headings:

(1) The ideal of intellectual discipline;
(2) Economic independence and vocational opportunity;
(3) Citizenship and civic responsibility;
(4) Social development and human relationships;
(5) Morals and ethical characteristics;
(6) Self-realization, including health and psychological needs.

They also examined many statements of goals which had been developed in the past and discovered that this classification scheme was adequate for reporting these previous efforts also. The details of their analyses are presented in Appendices A and B.

In 1938 the Educational Policies Commission of the N. E. A. created a document—destined to become very well known—entitled *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. The Commission identified 43 educational objectives, and classified them under four headings*:

(1) Self-realization;
(2) Human relationships;
(3) Economic efficiency;
(4) Civic responsibility.

Two statements will be mentioned also which have been developed by states included in the eight-state area: Colorado and Wyoming. In 1962 Colorado published the following list of eleven goals for its schools:

(1) Command of the knowledge, skills, habits, and attitudes essential for effective learning throughout life;
(2) Understanding of man and society, and the determination to strive for the welfare of all people;
(3) Knowledge of self, understanding of one's own characteristics and motivations, and appropriate development of individual abilities and interests;
(4) Proficiency in recognizing and defining problems, thinking critically, objectively, and creatively about them, and acting constructively toward their solution;

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*A more detailed listing appears in Appendix C.

> (5) Confidence in one's own abilities, courage and initiative in the face of difficulties, and creativity and leadership in resolving them;
> (6) Skills, attitudes, and understandings necessary for effective group action and satisfying human relationships;
> (7) Effectiveness in communicating ideas and feelings, and overcoming or avoiding barriers to communication;
> (8) A philosophy based upon values conducive to sound character, ethical and moral behavior, and democratic action;
> (9) Wisdom in selecting a life-work, and skills, attitudes, and understandings basic to effectiveness in any lifework;
> (10) Appreciation of beauty, wherever and however it may be manifested, and the motivation to create it;
> (11) Knowledge, attitudes, and self-understanding basic to the achievement and maintenance of physical and mental health.

The Wyoming Governor's Committee on Education approved in 1964 a statement which was briefly summarized as follows:

> Development of acceptable competence, skills, understandings and/or appreciation in:
>
> Critical and creative thinking,
> Self-study and self-direction,
> Physical and mental health,
> Moral and ethical behavior,
> Communication,
> Human relations and citizenship,
> Computation,
> Natural and scientific environment,
> Fine and practical arts,
> Economic and vocational affairs.

Also included were the following goals for adult education:

> Preparation and retraining of adults for vocational competencies;
> Give guidance to individuals in their growth toward greater maturity and happiness, and toward self satisfaction and self fulfillment;
> To help adults understand and accept the idea that education is a continuous process and that it is for all, not only youngsters;
> Preparation of adults for civic competence.

Lists could be cited endlessly.* There is obviously great similarity among statements of educational goals, and yet they often do not carry practical meaning. How can we look at educational goals in a way that will be simple, yet practical and flexible?

Kinds of Goals. Almost all statements include four different kinds of goals, which for lack of better terminology might be called intellectual, practical, personal and moral. Doubtless this is an over-simplification, with overlap among the categories. However, it may be useful to discuss educational goals in terms of these headings.

Intellectual goals include most of the learnings typically called "academic". This area contains the multitudinous items of knowledge, concepts, generalizations and thinking processes which are pre-eminently cognitive and which Bloom has classified in such great detail. The intellectual goals in education are those most assiduously pursued by schools, even though some critics have asserted that there has been more con-

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*An excellent overview of goals in standard subject fields, developed in connection with the program of national assessment, was given by Martin J. Higgins and Jack C. Merwin, "Assessing the Progress of Education," *Phi Delta Kappan*, XLVIII, 8 (April 1967), pp. 378-80.

spicuous success with rote learnings than with higher mental processes. Undoubtedly, more attention should be paid to such areas as problem-solving and the ability to communicate effectively.

Practical goals deal primarily with efficient living in our present world, including such matters as preparation for vocations, family life education, civic effectiveness, financial efficiency, driver education and conservation. Of course, this area overlaps the preceding one in many ways. Learnings in the use of the English language are clearly practical, as are those in any academic field required for a specific vocation. Still there is enough difference between school work designed for practical ends and that directed primarily toward intellectual outcomes to warrant separate consideration.

Personal goals include those areas of achievement that are uniquely valuable to the individual in his efforts at self-realization. Such goals might include the cultivation of interests, physical well-being, recreational and leisure-time accomplishments, emotional and social maturity, and various forms of self-expression. Perhaps skills of human interaction belong in this category, although some might prefer to call this a "practical" area. Again, there is much overlap with other types of goals. Obviously, intellectual learnings, as well as practical achievement, can be viewed as forms of personal satisfaction and fulfillment. Nonetheless, increasingly schools are being concerned with individuals *as individuals*; they look at the task of the effective development of each person as distinct from the task of teaching him one or more academic disciplines or even of preparing him to function effectively in society.

The fourth area of goal formulation, that of *moral (or ethical) goals,* is perhaps both the most difficult and the most controversial to discuss. These goals include the various attitudes and habits which primarily concern themselves with the ethics of our society and the ideals of our citizens. They clearly overlap the purposes of religious organizations, as well as the concerns and responsibilities of the family. It is exceedingly difficult to identify the schools' role in these areas, and to determine legitimate lines of cooperation with—and the distinction from—the home and church. There is confusion among both school people and laymen about the schools' commitment to moral goals, and even greater confusion regarding how they should be tackled. And yet, such areas as integrity, good citizenship, adherence to democratic ideals, industriousness, and moral behavior are of concern to educators as well as to the community at large.

Still, it is reasonably evident that schools do pay attention to all four of the areas just outlined, even though focus and emphasis on them vary from subject to subject and grade level to grade level. Both intellectual and practical content are clearly a part of the curriculum. The guidance program represents at least one facet of schools' concern with personal development of young people. While educators' interest in moral and spiritual values is more difficult to document, these values appear to be rather firmly fixed in the practices of the schools. Consider for instance, the great furor created by "cheating scandals". Consider also the occasional uproar about Christmas pageants and other celebrations in the schools, as well as the recurrent community criticisms of the schools when outbreaks of juvenile delinquency occur.

All four of the areas therefore involve education intimately. And yet, they involve education in somewhat different ways. Typically intellectual and practical goals are dealt with directly, by creating courses designed to achieve them or by inserting appropriate units into courses. Personal and moral goals are usually dealt with indirectly; it is not customary for schools to have courses or units to achieve these ends. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why moral and personal goals are less discussed and less consciously planned in education than are the first two areas. It might be fruitful to consider briefly the difficulty regarding these latter two areas and how they differ from intellectual and practical goals.

Cognitive and Noncognitive Learnings. Probably one important factor is the presence among personal and moral goals of much emphasis upon the emotional development of students. Educational objectives are often classified as either *cognitive* (involving the mind) or *noncognitive* (involving aspects of man other than the intellect), and many of the moral and personal goals are of the latter variety. The relationship between cognitive and noncognitive learnings has been insufficiently explored in education. There is reason to believe that they are frequently in conflict. For instance, a teacher may drill students in the multiplication tables in such a way as to cause overlearning of the multiplication skills while destroying motivation to use those skills.

Music appreciation courses have often foundered upon the teacher's conviction that one cannot truly appreciate music without possessing considerable detailed information about it. Students are examined on such information, with the consequence that they often know much about the life and works of Beethoven without appreciating his music at all. There are many other instances where plans for cognitive learnings create situations which destroy the possibility of noncognitive learning.

The reverse of this situation is also true. Emphasis upon motivation can destroy academic rigor. Critics of the schools—particularly those who call them anti-intellectual—have often said that efforts to keep students "happy" or "well-adjusted" result in a procedure devoid of content or meaningful learning. They decry the production of "happy morons", while their opponents worry about the creation of "maladjusted geniuses".

Undoubtedly, the schools are not confronted with an either-or situation, in spite of any impression the previous discussion may give. *The task is one of identifying the conditions and practices which further or hinder both cognitive and noncognitive learnings.* There are doubtless ways of teaching content without losing motivation, as well as procedures for developing values and interests without ignoring intellectual achievement. Any goal statements should make quite clear the relative importance of learnings of different kinds, while efforts to implement these goals should take into account the impact of practices and plans upon *both* kinds of educational outcomes.

Perhaps one of the reasons why goal statements have been so unsatisfactory in the past has been because of their implications for non-cognitive (or affective or emotional) areas. Frequently, these statements imply such great changes in teacher behavior that they demand that the teachers become in effect different persons. For example, teaching in such a way as to change attitudes is markedly different from routine instruction. Such truisms as "attitudes are caught, not taught," and "example is not merely the best way to teach attitudes; it is the *only* way," illustrate the depth of the challenge. They suggest that for teachers to motivate students, the teachers must be motivated, and for them to develop social sensitivity, good citizenship, honesty, and other values in students, they must reveal these qualities themselves.

This is indeed a charge to give anyone! It is a little like saying to someone without warning, "say something funny" or "be creative"! A person cannot change his spots any more than the leopard, and to ask teachers, who are accustomed to "covering the ground", suddenly to become flexible, imaginative or creatively enthusiastic is to ask a lot. And yet, less is not good enough.

Earlier we pointed out that by 1980 society will need a "new man"—a flexible, ever-learning, problem-solving type of man. Few seem to disagree with this idea. As Peterson said: "Rigidity may actually be a greater barrier to progress than ignorance." The implication becomes increasingly clear: *If there is to be any conflict between the acquisition of knowledge and the development of attitudes and habits for the effective use of knowledge, the latter must take precedence over the former.*

It is to be hoped that such conflict will not exist. But it *has* existed in the past, and it has usually resulted in emphasis on lower forms of learning at the expense of higher. To use an analogy, it is almost as though one had very carefully designed and manufactured an automobile without providing it with a starter, a steering wheel or a qualified driver. We must find some way of formulating educational goals that will say what we mean with regard to values, attitudes, habits, and broad intellectual skills, without leaving these in such a thicket of fuzzy words that they do not appear meaningful or important to persons planning educational activities. Lip service to vital educational outcomes must be replaced with hard-nosed statements of purposes and single-minded determination to translate these into action.

THE EIGHT-STATE AREA. This discussion of educational goals has been general, and has not referred to the eight states involved in this Project. Perhaps this is as it should be, since *important goals of our society are of concern to all people and to all schools in the nation.* Still, statements of goals should take into account differences among students, schools, neighborhoods, communities, states and regions. What are ways that educational goals reflect the characteristics of the eight-state area?

Downey's study tends to show differences among people with different kinds of background. Particularly, he notes that persons with higher occupational or educational status tend to stress intellectual and related learnings more than physical, vocational and similar fields. There are also differences related to age, religion and race. To the extent that this area differs from other parts of the country in vocations, education, age, religion, or race, the difference might be reflected in educational goals.

However, it is likely that variation *within* this area is so much greater than the difference *between* the overall conditions of the area and that of the nation that we should primarily view goals locally—in terms of our own individuals, groups and communities.

One finding of Downey's, though, that might be relevant to the area generally is the relationship he discovered between educational viewpoint and geographic location. He found that the western region tended to favor the social aspects of education. This suggests that our citizens place considerable emphasis upon their relations with one another—perhaps more so than elsewhere—and expect the schools to do likewise.

This finding may be explained by the fact that these states were largely settled under pioneer-like conditions in comparatively recent times. There were many isolated communities which had to rely on their social relationships both for relief from the monotony of hard work and for their defense. It is not surprising that a strong socializing tradition was developed—a heritage which we have with us still. Persons from other parts of the country often comment upon the open-handed and open-hearted quality of our people.

This emphasis is strong in our schools and in their graduates. Again, those who visit us from other areas often note the egalitarian nature of our schools and their operation, with a comparative freedom from authoritarianism and restrictive regulations.

The implication of all this for formulating goals is that we should pay careful attention to such areas as social development, human relations, citizenship and civic responsibility. These are clearly fields in which our citizens are interested and—although they are also of interest nationally—we might wish to pay special attention to them.

THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE AND IMPLEMENTATION

Much of the preceding discussion has stressed the problems of translating goals into action. It seems impossible to discuss educational outcomes without considering their implications for practice. What *are* some of the problems in moving from ends to means, if indeed these two can ever be considered as distinct?

DIFFICULTIES IN MAKING CHANGES. Some of the reasons why implementation is not easy are as follows:

Most goal statements represent generalizations, the implications of which are usually not clear.

This point has already been considered briefly. Yet, the translation of abstract statements into specific plans is a complex challenge, which should be understood. It grows out of the varying experiences of people, their differing perceptions and intellectual capacities, and their skill in generalizing and applying generalizations. Often, too, it results from school experiences that have not yet yielded this skill.

Goals often tend to threaten people.

Downey[4] found that there is less disagreement among people regarding the goals of education than there is concerning the relative priority to be given any goal. This is the age-old difference between believing something in theory and believing it in practice. Formalized general statements are comparatively easy to get consensus upon, but the consideration of priority among them leads inevitably to matters of implementation. As one considers the relative importance of goals he begins reflecting upon what might happen to practices. The result often is anxiety and resistance.

Goal language is often emotionally loaded.

Goal statements often deal with areas of the human heart. When they do, the terms they use represent words that have all kinds of emotional and attitudinal implications. Words like "patriotism", "moral", "maturity", "family", "spiritual", "democratic" and "appreciation" mean different things to different people. The differences represent more than the specific experiences of an individual's past; they also reflect his unique feeling tone. This explains the feeling of threat that persons have in the face of many proposals of educational purpose.

Reconciling differences and reaching consensus are not merely a matter of intellectual communication, they are also one of deeply human contact. To anyone other than an experienced therapist, this presents a discouraging challenge. Certainly, it is one that can be met only through extensive and free communion among the persons involved.

Frequently, persons involved in goal implementation have not been involved in the formulation.

The objectives of an educational program or any of its parts should represent a deeply held commitment on the part of those charged with achieving the objectives. But deep commitment comes only out of conviction, and conviction results only from involvement. Consequently, schools are often in the process of asking "reluctant dragons" to do the job. Enthusiasm cannot be commanded, nor can conviction be had for the asking. These statements are all truisms but only because they are true. Participation in planning is a principle which has often been honored in the breach, because it is considered too time-consuming, too expensive or too difficult. Yet nothing else will really develop the attitudes and activity on the part of teachers that are essential to goal fulfillment.

Goal statements often are inconsistent with the structure of the curriculum.

Many of the most important goals of education—goals widely accepted by both school personnel and lay citizens—are of such general phrasing that they do not belong in any single subject or level of teaching. They become everyone's business and, in consequence, no one's business. What has the mathematics teacher to do with citizenship? Why should the primary teacher be concerned with critical thinking? Or the teacher of Latin with moral and spiritual values? Where in the American history class is patriotism taught?

The simple truth is that the school day is organized around subject areas. Most subject areas deal primarily with intellectual goals. In consequence practical, personal and moral goals often find themselves homeless. It is this circumstance that has led in the past to proposals for revising the structural basis of the curriculum, and centering it upon problem areas or foci of life experiences. Although such efforts have not gained widespread support, the problem which motivated them still remains—namely, a maladjustment between statements of educational purpose and the structure of the school curriculum.

Teachers gain security primarily from what they know.

It is not surprising that teachers place emphasis upon "covering the ground". Most of their life they have been evaluated on this basis. As students, they were examined on how well they had learned and remembered the subjects they had been taught. As teachers they are judged (at least at the secondary level) by both students and supervisors in terms of their command of the subject they teach.

Typically, a teacher prepares for a class by reviewing the topics to be taught and making sure he knows the answers to problems or questions which may arise. For instance, an arithmetic teacher makes sure he has solved any problems before he meets the class. As a consequence, he presents the students with what might be called the embalmed results of prior thinking rather than the living body of new thought. When a question arises to which the teacher does not know the answer, his most common reaction is to defer it. It is standard among educators to laugh at the often-heard response: "That's a good question. Why don't you look the answer up and let us all know tomorrow."

The difficulty involved in shifting the sense of security of teachers from what they *know* to what they can *do* is deep-seated. Perhaps more progress has been made in doing this in elementary schools than in high schools. Techniques like individualized instruction, grouping within classrooms, student-teacher planning, and student-led and -initiated discussions are difficult for those who have not been trained in them and who do not receive insightful and understanding help.

Often the problem is viewed as solved when the goals are stated.

Many statements of educational goals appear to imply that the matter is settled once the goals have been agreed upon and carefully stated. Often there is a kind of emotional let-down, as though a long, difficult road has been traveled and the destination triumphantly achieved. In reality, the statement of goals is perhaps the easiest of all steps in the process of educational planning. The destination, far from being reached, has just been glimpsed through the mists and tumbled terrain which intervene. Efforts often flag just when the need is greatest for energy and dedication.

Goals vary considerably among people with different vocations, ages, religions, ethnic backgrounds and levels of schooling.

There is perhaps no such thing as a statement of educational purposes which is valid for all students, teachers or schools, even in a single district. We tend to over-simplify the problem of goal formulation and educational planning. No community is truly homogeneous, and statements of purpose must provide for legitimate individual goals as well as for those held in common. Many pronouncements in the past have given lip service to individual differences, but have not shown the way to deal with them.

School districts often seek a spurious consistency. Emphasis is placed upon courses and curriculums to be used on a system-wide basis. But districts contain widely varying neighborhoods, and it is questionable if so much consistency ought to exist. Arguments regarding the need for protecting transfer students are not convincing, since most transfers are across district boundaries rather than within them.

Indeed, it is difficult to know why individual variation among schools should not be as normal as it is among districts. We seem to believe in individual differences for students more than we do for teachers or neighborhoods. In truth, most plans for district-wide standards or regulations suit administrative convenience more than they do the facts of learning.

PROBLEMS IN CHANGING PEOPLE. Comment has already been made about the difficulties in changing the attitudes, convictions and habits of people. This is the fundamental fact confronting those who plan educational programs and their improvement. Let us consider further the nature of this situation.

One illustration of the difficulties inherent in human change could be the reactions of those who read—or listen to—the present proposals. What kinds of feelings first arise in your minds? Do you have numerous objections and reasons why the suggestions are impossible? Did you think: "It's all very good to say, but it just can't be done"; "It's just unrealistic"; "It will never work"; "He obviously never met a payroll"; "I've heard all this too many times before."? Or are your reactions those of saying: "Maybe that *might* work"; "I think I'll try that"; "Let me hitchhike on that idea"; "Here are some other things that might be done"? In other words, are you open or closed to new ideas?

This is not to say that everyone who agrees with the ideas presented here is forward-looking and everyone who disagrees is reactionary. It says, rather, that people tend to react to all new proposals as though they were what a former U.S. Commissioner of Education calls "hot" lawyers and "cold" lawyers. "Hot" lawyers are those who find reasons why something *can* be done, and "cold" ones are those who find reasons why the same thing *cannot* be done. Your reactions to these proposals might tell you in which way you have a predisposition to view new ideas.

Of course, innovation should not be blindly opposed any more than it should be routinely accepted. Many innovations are ill-conceived, "notional" ideas; many, too, represent real improvement. Proposals for change should be thoughtfully and impartially weighed.

But many persons' reactions are visceral rather than rational. They do not allow themselves to *think* about new ideas because they are so busy *feeling*. Their intelligence and learning are meaningless because their emotions get in the way. Critical thinking implies *both the ability and the willingness to think critically*. Yet, prejudice, repression and rationalization mean unwillingness rather than willingness.

Often we have assumed that adequate training of the mind results in the well-rounded individual. Many persons have viewed the liberal arts curriculum as providing this kind of outcome. Indeed, the term "liberal" is used because the subjects so termed are considered capable of liberating men to deal flexibly, thoughtfully and intelligently with all situations.

This assumption is open to question. Anyone who has attended faculty meetings in liberal arts colleges knows that possession of high levels of competence in these subject fields does not guarantee the absence of emotionality. We have, therefore, too long and incorrectly assumed that the mind alone is sufficient to guide the individual. New findings in psychology suggest an intimate relationship between the rational and the nonrational sides of man to a degree that neither can be adequately developed without attention to the other.

It is paradoxical that emotions are central to the intellectual learning process. The belief is widespread that the thought process is independent of feelings. Psychological research, though, tends to show that motivation affects the speed, comprehensiveness and durability of learning. All teachers know that students' achievements are influenced by their tensions, anxieties, angers, joys and satisfactions.

The marking-grading process is one of the most emotion-fraught procedures ever devised—with tensions for both teachers and students. Examination time is for many often a time of terror. The outcome, however, is used to create the grade-point average, the rank in class, the honor roll, and the other trappings of academic achievement. These are the visible signs of intellectual learning to most people and they are forged in the fire of feeling.

At the heart of the whole intellectual process, then, is the fact of emotion. Rationalization and self-deception, wishful thinking and mental blocks are part of all of us regardless of our IQ or the degrees we hold. Research is presently inadequate to tell us how a person's feelings tend to open or slam the doors of the mind. But we know that this occurs and we know further that efforts to "train the mind" without taking into account the pertinent emotions are often exercises in futility.

We do not change peoples' feelings by exhortation. Instead, the personality changes only slowly and painfully in the crucible of soul-searching engendered by experience. One can cram for a final examination, but one cannot cram for his Rorschach. However, teachers and administrators alike often use methods which are appropriate for cramming but not for human change. Our need in formulating educational goals is for an approach which denies wishful thinking and looks realistically at the exciting task of dealing with *people*.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GOAL FORMULATION

So far many difficulties regarding educational goals have been presented. What can we do about these? It is time to present a few suggestions.

Implications of goals for the behavior of both teachers and students should be a central part of their formulation; means and ends are not distinct.

Probably no statement of educational purposes should be created without some detailing of the kinds of practices needed to achieve them. This is not the same as suggesting that a full-fledged curricular proposal should accompany each goal, but rather that *the statement should say what the goal basically means in terms of human behavior and what kind of actions and situations are best calculated to achieve it.* If a goal cannot be so translated into the language of action, or does not arise out of a context of actual practice, there is real question as to whether it is sufficiently clear in the minds of those who formulate it or whether there is much likelihood that anyone will pay attention to it in practice.

The foregoing suggestion is intended to be a modification of the conventional "behavioral terms" concept. The meaning of a goal in relation to actual behavior should be clear enough so that one can translate it into behavioral language in any given context. It should not be spelled out in great detail for *all* such contexts unless there is real assurance that such specifics will be valuable, meaningful and useful to people applying them.

Potential conflict among goals should be identified, and guidelines for its resolution should be developed.

The kind of situation discussed previously, in which efforts to achieve certain goals clash with efforts to achieve others, should be recognized by those who prepare statements of educational purposes. To ignore such conflict is to provide an open door for the use of all who either consciously or unconsciously wish to avoid certain areas of learning. To be more specific, a teacher who gains security from facts in a social studies course could comfortably ignore a charge to develop critical thinking if he were led to believe that the choice had to be either one or the other. Frequently, teachers dispense with the need to deal with broad-gauge goals of education by one or more of the following rationalizations: "I can't do that if they expect me to get through the book." "That is all very well in theory, but it will never work in practice." "How can you grade critical thinking?" "There's no test of citizenship." "Problem-solving is the business of the mathematics or science teachers, not of the English teachers."

Statements like the preceding, and myriads more, are familiar to all who have spent time in the schools. Basically, they all say the same thing: It is too hard and too frightening to try to teach in such a way as to bring about the "new man". Those who formulate educational goals should be acquainted with the rationalizations that are used to side-step responsibility. They should state goals in such a way as to answer in advance possible rationalizations, and to provide guidelines for the dedicated work necessary for achievement of the goals.

Priorities among goals should be spelled out, particularly where there is a possibility of conflict.

The goal statements and guidelines, just referred to, should leave no doubt in anyone's mind regarding the relative importance of the various goals stated. Surely *it is more important to develop a well-integrated per-*

sonality than it is to teach the details of fractions or of the Revolutionary War. Surely also, the acquisition of the habit of continued learning through life is of greater advantage than is the attainment of any limited set of subject-matter learnings.

As stated previously, there is no inevitable conflict among goals. At the same time, many educators, at least through their practices, presumably see such conflict, and it is most important that goal statements make quite clear the outcomes which must receive priority.

The responsibility of the schools for goals which are shared with other persons and institutions should be clarified.

Such questions as whether the school or the home has responsibility for the social development for young people, or whether teachers or preachers are charged with the moral development of boys and girls, can be simply answered. The answer is that *they all share these responsibilities,* and it is important that their efforts reinforce each other.

No parent would wish a teacher to ignore anti-social or immoral behavior on the part of his child. At the same time few parents wish to abdicate their own responsibility for developing their children's character. Schools share, then, their responsibilities for moral and personal goals with the home, the religious institution, and with many other persons and agencies. They probably also share responsibility for many of the practical learnings, and possibly even for some intellectual goals. Witness, for example, the discussion concerning whether parents should teach children to read, or their role in seeing that homework is done, or even such activities as travel, play-going and the like.

Therefore, to say that the schools have a certain goal is not enough. We must identify the other persons and institutions who share the responsibility, and the relative primacy of the role of each. Those who develop goals should also consider guidelines for joint activity by schools and others. Doubtless, parents, representatives of religious institutions, and others from the community should join with educators in creating these goal statements and guidelines.

The formulation of goals is less important than commitment to them.

Much wheel-spinning has taken place in the past over the question of educational goals. Many persons have used the processes of goal formulation as an extended rear-guard action against the possibility of actually having to do anything. Many others have split hairs interminably over issues which were real only to them. Still others have viewed the whole process of developing goals as a kind of academic exercise which was intellectually stimulating but had no relationship to reality. Such attitudes are sterile, and result in statements of educational purpose that cannot be translated into action.

Dyer[5] has stated that one reason why goals in the past have been largely non-functional has been because of over-reliance on words. Words are devices for translating meaning, but sometimes they become ends in themselves. Many an individual who has quibbled over phraseology has done so more because he is interested in impressing his individuality upon a statement than because of his concern for the vitality of the statement. If we leave to such persons the formulation of our goals, we doom them to impotence.

People working on statements should bear in mind that decisions regarding the terminology or classification of goals—or regarding priorities among ideas, or their inclusion or exclusion—are less important than is a determination to translate into practice the goals that *are* accepted. This suggests that less time might be put in on proliferation and refinement of goal statements and more time on their implications.

IN SUMMARY

The essential theme of the preceding discussion can be summarized in a single sentence: *Educational goals include emotional as well as intellectual areas, but their implementation is so difficult, especially in the emotional areas, as to create almost unsurmountable difficulties.*

This seems a strange and somber note with which to sum up. It is not intended as such. It is intended rather to insist upon a realistic look at people and the ways in which they *really* behave, as distinguished from assumptions and wishes about how they behave or should behave. Too often we have acted as though other persons will act in a way that will be convenient to us to have them act. Indeed, it may well be that mankind's greatest burden is the need—which amounts almost to compulsion—to require others to do that which we want them to do.

If we are to develop a "new man" we must be more realistic and less compulsive. We have to look clearly and hard-headedly at the role which the emotions play in the education and development of people, even in the area of intellectual learning.

McPhee (Chapter 9 in *Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Education*) has said that it is easier to get people to accept changes involving artifacts than those involving ideas. As a nation, we are willing—even anxious—to accept the new products of science that make our life easier and more comfortable. Indeed, we have reached a stage in our society where, as a matter of course, we expect ever-new and better developments to make our lives more pleasant. The only requirement we make is that they do not threaten us or cause us to learn something new!

This perhaps explains why so many teachers are reluctant to use some new concepts—even some of the new hardware, including film projectors which, heaven knows, are no longer innovations.

Maurice Mitchell, Chancellor of the University of Denver and former president of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., has amused many audiences with his descriptions of lady teachers and their reactions to the sights, sounds and smells of projectors. This is funny, but we have to laugh to keep from crying! There are countless thousands of teachers who do not know how to operate a projector, who have no intention of learning, and who, if forced to learn, would never use the device. And yet, this is a tool which can bring the world into the classroom.

If you can recognize yourself in the preceding description, use this self-recognition to help you perceive the feelings and reactions of those who resist changes that you suggest. We all enjoy our little ruts—those pitiful trenches that need little alteration to become graves—and we all have a great hesitancy when called upon to stir out of them.

Yet this is what we must do, and what we must help others to do. If there is no other thing emphasized in this discussion, it is the terrible urgency of learning how to help others grow and realize their full potential. But we should not ask how we can "make" others improve; we should ask rather how we can "make" ourselves become the kind of person who can provide the help, encouragement and freedom that will enable others to realize their own potential. Arthur Combs[6] recently described Carl Rogers as "a man whom I have never heard use the word 'make' in connection with another human being. Instead, he says: 'How can I help him?' " We must all strive to be this kind of "helping" person.

Implications for the Curriculum

What will the curriculum be like in the future? How will it differ from that of today? To answer these questions one must go beyond the simple projection of trends, while at the same time avoiding the extreme of purely subjective proposals. The trends should be modified in the light of new evidence and of defensible beliefs which have widespread acceptance, as a basis for determining what the educational program of 1980 ought to be. Some elements emerge as both probable and desirable:

The curriculum should be based more upon process and less upon content.

Perhaps this is too obvious to need stating. Perhaps, too, this entire paper is a discussion of this point. But the so-called knowledge explosion—currently 1,000,000,000,000,000 non-redundant bits of information—and nearly double that number by 1980—according to Knox (Ch. 13 in *Prospective Changes in Society by 1980*)—makes it increasingly difficult to determine what knowledge is important to teach and how it should be taught. Further, since we are apparently agreed on the need for a "new man" for the future we must find some way of building into the curriculum those processes and activities which will be of supreme importance to him.

This is not to suggest that the subject-matter basis for curricular structure will be abandoned. We moved somewhat in this direction in the 1930's, with the core curriculum and other proposals, and found massive forces working against such changes. Whether or not such forces are invincible, no one knows, but at least in the foreseeable future, and certainly for the next 15 years, there will be no abandonment of subject matter as the basis of the curriculum. What *may* occur (and there are many signs suggesting that it will—at least in experimental programs) is a continual grouping and re-grouping of subjects into different constellations. Tomorrow's problems will often call for an interdisciplinary approach, and educators will seek the most efficient curricular organization for dealing with them without destroying the subject-matter emphases we already value.

However, important *processes* must be given a conscious focus and place in educational programs—processes such as problem-solving, discovery, experimentation, evaluation. Unless we believe in these heartily enough to give them prominence in our curricular plans, we insure that few teachers will give them a prominent place in their teaching plans.

There should be a re-examination of the emphasis in the curriculum of such content-heavy subjects as English and history, and, as a consequence, there may be a reduction in the relative amount of time given to them.

No subjects receive as much student time and effort over the twelve to thirteen years young people spend in school as do English and history. Students in the senior high school are often studying the Revolutionary War for the third time or the parts of speech and rules of grammar for the nth time. This repetition is often justified by the theory of the "spiral curriculum" which assumes that, each time around, the learning is with greater depth and meaning. Even accepting this as potentially true, the questions arise as to whether this is the most effective way to learn, and what happens to the motivation of students when they are convinced that they are experiencing repetition. The burden of proof is on those who advocate that so much attention be given to these areas, to demonstrate that this is necessary and that students are gaining more thereby than they would from other experiences. If the time is used only to "cover the ground", these advocates will have a difficult time maintaining the present position of these two subjects, and of others too—including plane geometry and algebra—in the curriculum. In view of the rising pressure to deal adequately with many areas of practical and personal significance, some of the time now given to English and history may well be assigned to other fields.

There should be major changes in English and social studies, somewhat analogous to those in science, mathematics and foreign languages.

It seems evident that the trend which began with Zacharias and the Physical Science Study Committee will continue, and will be extended to other subject fields. A number of current projects in English and social studies suggest that these two subjects are in line for treatment.

Basically, this treatment seems to consist of determining the essential nature (or structure) of the discipline under consideration, and developing plans for teaching it based upon its nature. Although many persons do not consider this an adequate basis for curriculum development, there is no question but that the approach has many adherents, and will continue.

In mathematics and the sciences, the changes which have occurred place considerable reliance upon student discovery. In foreign languages, the audio-lingual method has also placed dependence upon students' participation. It seems likely that changes in English and social studies will follow a similar course. A change in these two disciplines is long overdue.

English. English teachers have suffered under the awareness that the subject they love is considered by millions of students to be hateful. Laborious drills on grammar, compositions corrected with oceans of red ink, sentence diagramming, and endless analyses of classic writers and their writings have engendered in many an antipathy toward English.

Some of the experimentation and research now available suggest that certain changes may be forecast. The new emphasis on linguistics should lead to greater reduction in sentence diagramming. The traditional theme-a-week approach may be at least partly replaced with reading of good writing and exercises in creative self-expression. There is likely to be greater flexibility on the part of students and teachers in selecting literary works to be studied, as well as greater emphasis upon the essential elements of great works and less upon details of their meaning and structures.

Perhaps some of these changes are already forecast in the way in which English (or language arts) is taught in our better elementary schools. Indeed, the use of the term "language arts" in place of "English" suggests an effort to integrate the study of language and to stress its function and esthetics. The subject seems to be more fragmented at the high-school level, and it is here that the challenge is especially great.

In brief, if English will follow a course analogous to that of other subject-matter disciplines, and relevant to the needs of the "new man", English educators will seek the essential nature of their subject, and will attempt to insure primacy for this in their plans and processes. It is not clear what this essential nature is, but somewhere close to it will be such matters as man's urgent need to communicate with clarity and feeling to other men, and the intrinsic beauty and feeling associated with the efforts of great writers to do this communicating. Of course, the present concern on structural linguistics represents an effort to find a centralizing theme for English.

Social Studies. A somewhat analogous situation prevails in social studies. There has been much criticism leveled at the area because of what some people say is its greater concern with the "dead bones" of history, with sterile facts and figures of geography and government than with the vital issues of society. Again, this problem has been more aggressively attacked at the elementary than at the secondary level. The criticism, of course, is not true of our better schools and teachers at all levels. Still, at a time when international tension is prevalent and domestic evils disturb our conscience, it is important for the schools to be concerned. Many persons look to the social studies for leadership in such areas as these.

Social studies educators have been subjected to many pressures. Not only is the content of their courses literally increasing as each year becomes history, but they are also subject to the special pleadings of every individual with an axe to grind. Since the social studies presumably deal with the problems of society and the subject is usually required, many persons who wish the schools to teach more about money management, or conservation, or civil rights, or anything else they consider a prime issue, put pressure on the social studies teacher to accept their proposals.

There is also the problem of the controversiality of many matters with which the social studies probably should deal. It requires only a short memory to recall the "witch-hunting" days of the McCarthy era, when communists were sought under every rug and bed and in every office of government. Teachers in those days were pilloried if there was so much as a hint of their teaching about communism. Indeed, little distinction was made between teaching communism and teaching about communism. It is small wonder, then, that social studies teachers tend to find refuge in controversy-free topics.

With our shrinking world, our population explosion, our poverty and food crises, the emerging new nations, and the threat of holocaust that hangs over all of us, social studies teachers will be subjected to more pressure than ever before. The "new man" must presumably be capable of dealing maturely and realistically with social issues. Where better than in social studies classes is this to be done?

There are many signs that those most concerned with the social studies curriculum are alerted to the problem. If something akin to the changes in mathematics, science and foreign language will take place in the social studies, it is likely to lead to major revisions in the course content of this discipline, with greater emphasis on problems, issues and trends of current concern and with less attention to detail. If one may guess what the "essence" of the social studies might be, he might well find it in the nature of human interaction, including the political process by which men seek to govern themselves, and the issues and problems that result. So far as history is concerned, no less an authority than Edgar Wesley[7] sees this subject as "sources—not courses" and feels that its essence is in the *process* by which one studies history rather than in the facts, concepts and generalities that result.

Secondary-school curriculums should be less oriented toward traditional academic fields and more oriented toward other areas.

It has long been a belief held by laymen and educators in large numbers that academic courses contribute more to the outcomes of education than do those in practical, aesthetic and similar areas. It is reasonably evident, however, that the bulk of this contribution is in the direction of the intellectual goals of education, with comparatively light emphasis upon practical, personal, and moral outcomes. Indeed, many liberal arts educators take the position that the sole business of the schools is intellectual learning, and that the time and attention paid to other outcomes are largely wasted.

If it is agreed that the citizen of the future should be characterized by his ability to continue learning, his effectiveness in dealing with problems and issues, and his flexibility in the many complexities of life, it is clear that (1) the academic areas should be taught with greater emphasis upon process and transfer, and (2) other subjects have a great contribution to make. In addition, the accelerating trend toward larger amounts of leisure time calls out for increasing attention to areas that men can follow through leisure-time activities in their quest for happiness and self-fulfillment. Surely this is a call for many of the fields traditionally termed non-academic, such as music, art, physical education, shop, and home economics.

This will be true not only of the student for whom high school represents terminal education, but also of the college-bound individual. Indeed, even today, there is considerable discussion about the appropriateness for *all* students—including those going on to college—of many of the so-called nonacademic areas and topics, including personal finance, driver training, conservation, cooking, sewing, preparation for marriage, music, recreation and the fine arts. Our college graduates represent adults with a high degree of cultural development. It is particularly important that they develop both the cultural tastes and the practical arts that will make them happy, effective members of society. Often, the high school assumes that these learnings will result from the individual's college program; often the college program is so loaded with requirements for general education, professional training, and a major and minor that there is little room for anything else.

More and more, college admissions offices are viewing prospective freshmen on an all-around basis. Less attention is being paid to the pattern of credits offered at the time of admission, and more concern is expressed with the individual's overall development and promise for the future. Surely one of the implications for the secondary school is to produce graduates who have received a well-balanced education rather than one over-balanced in favor of academic work.

Practical courses should increase in number and in the proportion of students enrolled in them.

The foregoing statement is doubtless a corollary to the preceding one. As more and more areas of importance to the modern world press in upon students, teachers and parents, greater pressure is exerted on the curriculum. Driver education is a good example of a problem almost forced upon educators against their will by the demands of persons outside the schools. Some other areas likely to receive increasing attention include personal finance, family life education, sex education, conservation and international relations.

Not always will these be represented by separate courses or departments. More typically they will be incorporated into existing courses. The pressure will be particularly great in areas which are required, such as social studies, because of the feeling that the fields listed above are of such importance that they should be studied by everyone.

Both teachers and schools should have greater flexibility in curricular planning.

Increasingly, as the possession of knowledge for its own sake is seen to be less important than are the skills for dealing with knowledge, both teachers and schools will have greater independence. Consider, for example, the previously discussed matter of variation in educational goals of a school district—variation to provide for individual differences among both schools and neighborhoods. Many curriculum writers have recommended that individual schools should have greater control over their own curriculum than is presently the case. By the same token, teachers who use subject-matter as a springboard for students to do critical thinking, problem-solving, research, and the like, will have great latitude in selecting the topics they use.

The foregoing suggests that *curriculum guides will be different in the future.* There will be less space given in them to lists of topics and more space to resources and activities. There will be an effort to tie their objectives to their proposed activities, including evaluation, in order to insure that *all* these objectives are emphasized.

There should be greater independence on the part of each learner in building his own program.

Curriculum makers have always struggled with the conflicting desires of (1) providing specialized experiences for every learner, and (2) emphasizing those learnings which are important to *all* learners. The elective system has been a device for achieving the former, while, of course, the required course has been the mainstay of the latter. Many of the experiences schools and colleges have had with the elective system have disenchanted them. On the other hand, the use of required courses—which, in its most extreme development, has reached a point where virtually everything was specified for some students—has also led to dissatisfactions.

Both the trend of the times and the challenge of the future demand that students have opportunity to build programs calculated to meet their own needs. The increasing use of computers for scheduling provides a basis for achieving this goal in practice. The independent study approach favored by some experimenters is an instance of this kind of activity. Concurrently, there will be an increase in diagnostic and counseling activities. If the student is to assume responsibility for building his own program, it is important that he and his counselors possess the kind of information that will insure realistic and feasible plans.

There should be greater emphasis upon the so-called humanistic curriculum.

"Humanizing the Curriculum—the Person in the Process" was the theme for the 1967 convention of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. The emphasis throughout the meeting was clear: the purpose of education is the fullest practicable development of the individual, and this can only take place when he is valued by those who would educate him.

To many this sounds like a "bleeding heart" approach. Others would call it common sense, and would insist that it is hard-headed. The ensuing remarks reflect the latter view, since the arguments for the humanistic curriculum, based upon the growing body of consensus among clinical psychologists, seem to be compelling.

Earlier it was said that we do not know exactly how the emotions open or slam the doors of the mind. But we do have one or two clues. These suggest that the self-concept is tremendously important, that people who expect to do well actually do better than others of equal capacity who expect to do poorly. Athletes refer to "choking up," the inability to produce because of fear that one will not be able to do so. Stage fright is another similar manifestation.

Therefore, students who are prized, and who prize themselves (in the sense of feeling of self-worth rather than one of empty conceit) do better than students of whom this is not true. If this is the case, it seems important that we try to stimulate and aid the development of each student's self-image. Perhaps this is the same as saying that we are seeking to build intrinsic motivation for learning. In any event, this is an area not sufficiently considered by the schools, and one which many of our current practices seem to contradict.

If we are to be concerned with students as people, we may have to abandon many current practices. For example, procedures and situations that tend to convince students they are no good must be replaced with others. Illustrations of poor situations include the use of "failure" as a dimension of the teaching-learning situation, the use of sarcasm and public reproof, and evaluation and grouping procedures which publicly proclaim and reinforce students' inferiority.

There should be an increasing focus and emphasis on the development of high quality in elementary education.

A great deal of time and attention has been devoted to the upper reaches of our educational system—a disproportionately large amount, in the minds of many. Often, new facilities and programs are easiest to obtain at the high-school level. Budgetary arrangements frequently reflect a greater concern for secondary than for elementary education.

This should be reversed or at least greatly modified. The first years of school are crucial. Habits and attitudes developed at that time tend to persist through life. Damage done then is often irreversible later. As Leonard[8] says: "The educational influence that may be exerted on a five-year-old in one hour's time takes tens, hundreds, or even thousands of hours at age 18."

There should be much greater awareness of the importance of vocational and technical education and serious efforts should be made to improve programs in this area.

To many persons, vocational education is still second best: the "better" students generally are encouraged to take college-preparatory courses; the others, to take vocational courses. To many, vocational programs represent an always-frustrating effort to prepare people for tomorrow's jobs with today's insights, and yesterday's equipment.

For all persons, it is important to take a new look at vocational education. We must see what the schools can and cannot do, and what industry can do better. We must find ways to increase the cooperation and communication between educators and future employers, so that school programs will coordinate well with on-the-job training.

In particular, we need to recognize the crucial importance of vocational preparation for a world in which adults may change vocations several times during their lives. We will need vocational programs that encourage flexibility and adaptability in their graduates.

Education for international understanding should have a central role in tomorrow's curriculum.

Prior discussion of forces and factors in the international scene underscores the importance of a citizenry that is informed about, and sensitive to, the problems of other peoples. Self-preservation, if not human decency, calls for persons with qualities conducive to better understanding and relations among nations.

Within the past generation millions of young Americans have spent time in other lands. Surely their experiences have influenced the attitude of our country. Surely, too, the growing trend toward exchanges of students and teachers, and toward study and service abroad represents a growing concern for international understanding. The curriculum has been far too slow to include an adequate emphasis on international affairs; the rate at which such matters are incorporated into it needs to be accelerated.

Implications for Instruction

The line between curriculum and instruction is not easy to draw. An educational program or course plan is heavily dependent for its implementation on the attitudes and practices of those who carry it out. If the curriculum be defined as the sum of all learning experiences students have under the planned sponsorship of the school, it becomes clear that the curriculum is an amalgam of the plans which are formally made and the manner in which they are executed.

Further, the never-ending controversy concerning the relative importance of content and method tends to imply a distinction which can never occur in reality, and which often leads to an unrealistic view of education. It is impossible to separate content and method without destroying both, just as it is impossible to separate mind and body. All who teach, teach something, and everything which is taught, is taught in some manner. Indeed, it is possible to describe the teaching-learning situation adequately only if one specifies both the topics being dealt with and the procedures by which they are attacked.

Bearing in mind then that curriculum and instruction—content and method—are intimately interlaced, it is still possible to focus attention separately on what is being taught and how this teaching is being done.

Some of the more obvious implications are discussed on the following pages.

Increasing amounts of student participation and activity should take place.

Studies of the learning process have long suggested that an active learner learns better than one who is passive. At the same time, those who visit classrooms are uncomfortably aware that passivity is the order of the day for most of the students most of the time in most of the classes. It seems reasonably evident that if we can encourage greater and more purposeful student activity, we stand a good chance of increasing the amount of learning young people acquire, while at the same time we increase the possibility of achieving learning of the kind needed by the "new man".

Many years ago the writer, then a mathematics teacher, was required to abandon homework because of his school's policy. Many changes took place in his classroom as a consequence. For one thing, lengthy question-

and-answer sessions were replaced by directed study. For another, the simple fact of individual differences compelled some individualization of student work, if some were not to finish early or others to take home forbidden work. Strangely, the change that came thus ruthlessly to one teacher resulted in learning outcomes he considered to be superior to those he had achieved formerly through more conventional methods.

This incident suggests that more teachers should undertake "agonizing re-appraisals" of their procedures. So often, much of what they do is routine, and conceals rather than reveals facts about students and their unique qualities. So often, teachers follow a comfortable pattern without considering what might conceivably be better ways of doing things. So often, too, they tolerate enormous blocks of passivity in the classroom, particularly at high-school and college levels. There must be more participation and activity on the part of students.

There should be increased emphasis upon the discovery method and similar techniques.

This statement is probably just a corollary of the above, but is designed to indicate that activity alone is not enough to insure meaningful learning. Certain kinds of activity are better than others. A felicitous analogy illustrating this point is that of a dog chasing his tail. Nothing represents greater activity for the animal, and yet if he succeeds in his quest all he gets for his pains is pain. There are certain learning procedures which help students learn to think by giving them practice in thinking, others which help them become problem-solvers by having them solve problems, and those which encourage them to become self-evaluators by structuring the evaluation process in a way that involves them intimately in it.

Many persons are experimenting with these methods, each of which has an extensive bibliography. Certainly, though, such activities (already common in many schools) as student-selected projects, independent study, group work, student research, class discussions, field trips and laboratory work are examples of activities that differ from the conventional image of the teacher talking in the front of the class. They offer possibilities not only for greater student involvement but also for activity of the kind that will lead to the skills we need in the "new man".

More individualization of instruction should occur.

Already the term "individualization of instruction" has become almost a meaningless cliché. But certainly this is not because it is so widespread! Probably fewer than half the elementary classrooms use any kind of internal grouping, even for the teaching of reading. This is even more true of the secondary schools. Perhaps not one high-school classroom in twenty (at least in the academic subjects) makes any effort to differentiate students' work on a basis of ability, and not even one in five provides any opportunity for variation in work based upon individual interests.

This is not the place to get enmeshed in a controversy about homogeneous grouping. However, we *should* think carefully about what homogeneous grouping does to the methods of instruction used in classes so grouped. Does the apparent support provided by the school to the idea that a set of young people are similar encourage the teacher to treat them as though they were identical? If one asks schoolmen (particularly in the high school) how their school makes allowances for individual differences among students, their most common response is to talk about the ability grouping system they have. Rarely, if ever, does one hear them discuss ways in which individual differences are considered within classes as well as between classes. The conclusion seems inescapable that most secondary-school teachers (and a large number of elementary-school teachers, too) are convinced that it is right and proper (as well as easier) to treat everybody in a class in the same way.

Not only is this approach blind to the differences that exist among students (even in homogeneous groups), but it is not true that the approach is easier. Consider an analogy with what is hard and easy in writing examinations. Often, teachers, particularly when rushed for time, prepare a small number of essay questions, not because they prefer them, but because they can be prepared quickly. These teachers get their "reward" when it comes time to correct papers. The examination which is the easiest to prepare is the hardest to score, and vice versa. In addition, the use of essay examinations is never made any easier by practice, while that of employing objective tests *is* made easier when one has built up a file of such questions over a period of time.

This is not to suggest, of course, that the only reason for using examination questions is ease or difficulty. There are many considerations regarding the proper choice of test items. What *is* suggested, however, is that what is hard and what is easy is not always obvious, and many decisions made consciously or unconsciously in the interest of work reduction do not result in this outcome.

One such decision is that of treating everybody in the class in the same way. This makes for easy planning, and it often results in a classroom routine that the teacher can follow almost automatically. At the same time, it guarantees that some students will be bored and others will be frustrated. Such reactions compel a teacher to be alert for disciplinary problems and to keep a tight rein. It almost insures that there will be certain rebellious students who will not only *not* learn but will attempt to keep others from learning, and who will end up requiring a disproportionate amount of time and energy from both the teacher and administrative personnel.

To sum up this rather extended treatment, the need for more attention to individual differences is obvious, the trend toward work in this area is increasing, and the arguments against it are not persuasive. Further, we are at a stage in our technological development where we have the "hardware" to do the job.

Increased use should be made of teaching aids.

So much has been written about computers and "teaching machines", and other devices for aiding the teacher, that little can be added. There is no question but that, through automated approaches to learning, students can be given unprecedented opportunities to study independently and to obtain feedback about their own learning. Whether or not we call teaching machines motorized workbooks, the fact remains that they provide—when well programmed—resources for teachers which they have not hitherto possessed.

There are so many forms the new "hardware" is taking. We can currently deal with large numbers of students simultaneously and also provide greater resources for the individual than ever before. Indeed, the use of the former will free budget and personnel to do the latter better. Videotape recordings, sound films for individual use, the library with pre-recorded material students can plug into, are all examples of creative ways of providing greater resources for every learner. If the schools and communities are willing to provide teachers with such resources and the help and encouragement to use them, the way lies open to meeting the needs of individuals as never before.

Teachers must re-examine their own teaching styles.

This is the most difficult recommendation of all to cope with, both in discussing it and doing it. People do not change greatly, except under unusual circumstances. However, considerable change can take place within the limits of each human being and it becomes important for those who work with teachers to identify what each individual can do best and help him do it as well as possible. Every teacher should also do the same for himself.

Somehow, we must help teachers to be willing to be wrong! In the first place, if one is never wrong, it means one is never trying anything new. In the second place, the image of total knowledge and confident thought processes that teachers reveal to classes often discourage students, who compare their own limitations with the models thus presented. Often, they give themselves too low a rating in terms of their achievements and promise.

The teacher should become what Pritzkau[9] calls the "first behaver". That is to say, the teacher should be a learner as well as the students. There are many things a teacher can learn from the class, both about the students themselves and about other matters. There are questions that arise to which teachers should cheerfully acknowledge that they do not possess answers. Teachers should be willing to solve new problems in class, or at least try to solve them—problems they have not previously considered. Only in such ways will teachers be able, truly, to reveal in class the process by which learning really takes place and build relations that will both encourage and aid the same activities by students.

In brief, teachers should base their self-confidence and security upon the kind of learners they are rather than on the amount of knowledge they possess. There is no certainty against the future other than our capacity to deal flexibly with it. Teachers should not seek to gain a spurious security in the classroom solely through what they know, when this kind of security cannot serve man in the world of the future.

A corollary to this suggests that teachers should not be compulsively concerned with "covering the ground." Many details that are taught and presumably learned are soon forgotten. It has been said that "education is what remains after a person has forgotten all that he has been taught."

Sometimes students learn things outside class or incidentally which the teacher feels must still be re-taught because they are "in the book". Better diagnosis and feedback based upon what students have actually learned, combined with individualized plans based on these, might help teachers focus on creative learnings and higher mental processes. We should not sacrifice the Gestalt of learning for coverage of a series of fragmented learnings—the total of which cannot add up to the Gestalt, even if each is perfectly learned and remembered.

Teachers should place increasing emphasis upon noncognitive learnings.

Because schools and administrators—and parents—have placed so much emphasis upon *what* has been learned, comparatively little attention has been given to *how* students have learned, and to the attitudes and habits they have developed. Since there has been so much emphasis upon "getting through" the book or syllabus, teachers have tended to believe that this is their first priority. Too seldom teachers have been seriously concerned about the side-effects (in terms of values, attitudes and habits) of the methods they use—at least until their attention has been directed to them. Teachers should be encouraged and assisted in every way possible to identify and study *all* the learnings of their students and to avoid those that may handicap or limit progress. To do this is an urgency of the greatest magnitude.

There should be more concern—and more effort—to help students develop a strong and constructive self-image.

In discussing the humanistic curriculum, reference was made to the tendency for achievement to vary in terms of the individual's own self estimate somewhat in relationship to his own self-image. Surely it is only sensible and efficient to endeavor to build up the self estimate of students who need such assistance. It is obvious that many teachers fail to accomplish this end, or even to recognize its importance.

It is not easy to help another to build an appropriate self-image, particularly when one must evaluate or correct that person. This is the kind of human change that usually comes about slowly. To influence the development of a strong self-image requires much insight into human nature and much skill in dealing with people. However, the gain in productivity and learning that is potentially available is worth all the time and effort.

Implications for Instructional Improvement Practices

The suggestions made about curriculum and instruction carry distinct implications for those responsible for instructional leadership, including supervision and evaluation of instruction, in-service education of teachers and curriculum development. The following discussion should be appropriate for all persons who work in any of these areas, regardless of their specific titles.

Improvement of instruction demands a rich variety of materials and their effective distribution.

Schools often spend both money and effort on complicated and sophisticated plans for instructional improvement. Perhaps they could achieve more by such a simple device as having an experienced educator visit every classroom regularly (at least weekly) to find out what materials the teacher needs that might be provided for him. Teachers will use items that are readily available to them, but will often not take the trouble to find them. Therefore, it is the *effective distribution* of materials that is most particularly emphasized above.

Many teachers would give differentiated assignments if graded materials were at hand. Many would use films if they "appeared" at the right moment. Many would allow able students to do independent work if appropriate books were on a bookshelf in the classroom. It is the task of instructional leadership not merely to obtain a rich variety of materials (or to demand their development if these are not already available) but also to find ways *really* to make these available to teachers *when and as they need them.*

A revolution must take place in in-service education.

There are at least two major changes needed. The first is simply to provide in-service education in adequate amounts. The second is to provide it in a form that will really work.

Education may well be the only major endeavor in this country which demands that people do planning and improvement on their own time. It is small wonder that teachers have little interest in activities which come at the tag end of a busy day, or which occupy weekend or vacation time. Their resistance is even greater when they feel coerced to participate.

There has been much penny-pinching in the area of supervision and professional improvement. Industrialists who feel justified in providing one supervisor for every three to five workers must wonder that the schools can "get by" on a supervisor-teacher ratio of 1 to 7, or even 1 to 10.

We must find funds to provide and pay teachers for attending more and better in-service programs. But they must be *better!* Much of what goes on now is, at the very best, pedestrian and, at its worst, actually harmful. Teachers do not need to be scolded or lectured or patronized any more than anyone else—if indeed anyone ever does. They do not need to be told things that they can read equally well. They do not need to receive instructions which they do not understand or feel they cannot accept. And yet, all these are done constantly. The area of instructional improvement is replete with techniques and programs that simply do not work!

Perhaps we need to take a leaf out of the page of the therapist. This is not to suggest that in-service education is simply group therapy. Rather, we can learn from the approach the therapist uses. He knows that people change only as they themselves see the need to change and have the desire to try. George Sharp's book, *Curriculum Development as Re-Education of the Teacher,*[10] is one attempt to apply some of these insights to in-service education.

Carl Rogers[11] has said that there are three elements essential in the teaching-learning process (and surely education of teachers is no less a teaching-learning situation): (1) an honesty or genuineness on the part of the teacher, (2) his "prizing" or valuing of the student, and (3) his empathic understanding of the learner. These are principles the supervisor should apply in his relations with teachers. If we use them to evaluate in-service programs of this country, where are we? Probably with programs that fail—which is the point at which this discussion began.

The evaluation of instruction should stress processes and conditions, particularly those related to important educational goals.

Research on the evaluation of instruction has recently turned a corner. For years we sought to list the characteristics of the effective teacher, only to have Barr tell us that hundreds of studies reveal no great pattern of similarity. Today, we are attempting instead to look at the conditions and activities of the classroom, and determine which of these typify the good teacher and which the poor. Such patterns of analysis as those developed by Cornell, Flanders, or Bellack emphasize the processes of teaching and learning rather than the qualities of the instructors. Surely such an approach is pertinent to any effort to educate people whose security is in their ability to cope with the situation—rather than in the knowledge which they have internalized.

Teachers must be encouraged to emphasize the goals which have the highest priority.

This is easy to say, but hard to do. Most of the devices administrators use to "manage" their staffs tend to do the opposite. Frequently there are requirements for "covering the ground". Teachers or schools are often compared through standardized test results. Teachers may be required to submit lesson plans as much as a week ahead of time. Rating procedures encourage teachers to "play it safe". Although the intention of these devices is usually laudable, their effect is to convince teachers that conservatism and conventionality are best.

If we want to encourage experimentation, we must insure that teachers cannot be hurt by experimenting and failing. If we believe critical thinking, or citizenship, or moral values are important, we must reinforce teachers' efforts to do something about them, and not force them to choose between doing this or "covering the ground". In brief, we should use the same kind of flexible leadership with teachers that we are asking them to use with students.

Instructional committees must be used more effectively.

Many teachers automatically groan at the prospect of serving on a committee. They believe that such activities are an unreasonable extra burden, and that the results will not be worth the effort. They feel that what they produce will either not be accepted, or if accepted, will not result in any real change in practices.

There are several possibilities for improving this situation: (1) committees should be named from among teachers who volunteer for the assignment; (2) they should be in regular contact with the instructional leadership in order to insure that their work is proceeding within the bounds of reality; (3) committees should not be used by administrators as devices to "sell" their ideas to teachers; (4) committees should not be used as devices to defer action on "hot potatoes"; (5) curriculum committees should be named that cut across subject lines, possibly oriented to major goals of education (e.g., the critical thinking committee, the citizenship committee); (6) even committees charged with making plans for specific subject areas should have representatives from other subjects to insure that perspective is kept on the total curriculum; and (7) the recommendations of committees should be accepted. (If committee work results in unacceptable proposals, it is probably because of inept administration in violation of one or more of the preceding guidelines.)

The instructional leader should lead by example.

Earlier, mention was made of the undesirability of "making" people do things. How many times have administrators asked how they can "make" teachers take more interest in curriculum development, or use more audio-visual aids, or something else? They may ask how they can "get" teachers to use anonymous student evaluations of them as teachers. One answer is to have the teachers fill out similar rating forms on the administrator! The impression too often is that we seek to have others do that which we are not willing to do ourselves.

There is nothing sacred about the principal's chair. It does not suddenly confer on him all kinds of insights about children, subject fields or the curriculum. Every administrator "worth his salt" knows that there is *not* a single person on his staff who does not know more about many things than he does. Many administrators act (in a manner described earlier for teachers) as though they could not admit fault or ignorance without losing face. The best way to engage in educational leadership—as indeed it is the best way to engage in education generally—is to practice what one preaches.

Implications for Supporting Services

Instructional leadership is not in itself sufficient to guarantee excellence in both curriculum and instruction. These two areas also rely heavily on certain supporting services of the schools. To the degree that such services are under the control of the instructional leadership they become an instrumentality for fulfilling that leadership. Often, they are separately placed in the school organization, and are therefore being separately discussed.

Several generalizations can be made about supporting services in the schools:

The guidance program must be extended and enriched.

The more we provide flexibility in students' scheduling, and the more we expect them to become self-starters and self-evaluators, the greater is the need for services that will assist them when they have difficulties. The fundamental role of the guidance program should be one of helping students see themselves realistically and helping them make valid choices among the alternatives they confront.

Sometimes these choices involve careers, sometimes personal relationships, sometimes self-understanding and crises of conscience. The educated man will be expected to deal with such matters in a mature way, and although the home and the religious institution are typically the focal point of such issues, the schools are necessarily involved. The primary agency through which the schools fulfill their functions in these areas is the guidance program.

It is indeed unfortunate that the emphasis on guidance at the secondary level has been at the expense of relative neglect in elementary schools. Federal aid has been no small factor in this connection. But, prevention at the elementary level *is* better than "cure" at the high school level, and an important next step in expanding and improving the guidance services of the schools is that of extending them to children in the lower grades.

The audio-visual program must be expanded and made more sensitive to classroom needs.

Earlier we discussed the need for improved distribution of instructional materials, including audio-visual equipment and supplies. With the expansion of educational technology into such areas as "teaching machines", television and computers, the present concept of the audio-visual program must be broadened into one in which it is viewed as a resource center with dimensions that previously have hardly been conceived.

Persons in such an expanded program will be responsible not only for helping teachers to understand and use newer technical equipment; they must also assist the teacher in many ways to locate and obtain the material he needs. This suggests that those who operate the audio-visual program should be equally at home in both technology and instruction.

In addition, there should be increased assistance to teachers wishing to prepare graphic materials, visuals for overhead projection, videotape recordings and other items requiring local production.

In brief, the audio-visual program must be viewed as an extension of the eyes, ears and mind of the teacher. Any administrative arrangement which suits only budgetary, organizational or personal convenience will distort the teaching-learning situation. Policies of distribution or maintenace which are designed mainly to make the administrator's work easier carry a price tag in the form of interference with academic freedom.

Schools should provide teachers with help in their evaluation procedures.

Much money and time have been expended in recent years on standardized tests. Great effort has been made to familiarize teachers with these instruments and their applications. Little has been done to help teachers with their own evaluative procedures.

Teachers may well be less adequately prepared in the area of measurement and evaluation than in any other aspect of the teaching task. By and large, teachers test as they themselves were tested. They have little or no awareness of the proper functions of different kinds of examination items, nor do they know how to construct such items without using specific determiners or making other errors. They are often convinced that formal testing is the only meaningful approach to educational measurement, and they have little or no appreciation of such areas as sociometry, observational procedures, self-report and projective devices, and other techniques for dealing with broad-gauge educational goals. Such concepts as validity, reliability, difficulty level, index of discrimination, are merely terms they may once have known briefly.

At the very least, schools should employ individuals who are equally knowledgeable about the techniques of measurement and appraisal, and the problems of the classroom. Such persons should be available to help teachers plan and execute evaluation activities, and develop and improve instruments. If, as has been earlier stated, the nature and focus of the evaluation powerfully shape the learning of students, insightful and skillful approaches to evaluation—making it truly harmonious with the goals of the schools—can be nothing less than a need of the first magnitude.

Teachers should be supplied with assistants.

This is an area much discussed these days. Whether one is talking about lay readers to help English teachers correct themes, or teacher aides to do certain sub-professional tasks in the classroom, or parents helping with supervision of lunch-room or school-yard activities, it is clear that many persons believe the professional responsibilities of the teacher are unreasonably impeded by the routine chores he is called upon to do.

There are so many ways in which teachers can be helped: clerical assistants to reproduce tests and study sheets; messengers to run errands and get materials; tutoring help for individuals and groups with special needs; assistance in arranging and organizing resources in the classroom; help in setting up schedules and making arrangements for field visits or parent conferences. The list could be extended endlessly. Without a doubt, this is a growing area in education—and deservedly so, if we are to free teachers for their most important tasks, and provide them the time and motivation to prepare themselves to do these tasks better.

The library must become a learning center intimately related to the classroom.

Somewhat similarly to the expansion of the audio-visual program, one can see that the library's function must inevitably change as we require more variety and richness of resources, and as we encourage the teacher to plan more flexibly. The conventional concept of a library as a place to which students come only under supuervision or at rigidly prescribed times and ways is not good enough. Probably we will need clusters of library materials that can be moved to classrooms as needed. We must also envision a school where students can go to the library or to a resource center independently and individually whenever they need to do so.

The challenge confronting the librarian is stupendous. Not only must he need to know cataloging, classifying and shelving of materials, but he must know what is in those materials and how they might be combined in many different ways to contribute to various courses and units. The librarian probably must become increasingly a teacher of students himself, as more and more students engage in independent study and research.

More effective and extensive use should be made of computers and related teaching and learning aids.

Computers are in the infancy of their development. Almost every year sees new models with greater speed, capacity and flexibility. Each year, too, sees new uses made of computers.

In education, computers are already being used to analyze student data and to make schedules. New ways of serving teachers and improving the curriculum are coming into view. Computer-analysis of student achievement in terms of many elements of learning is one possibility. Another is an almost infinitely responsive environment to which the students and teachers can direct questions.

All who are concerned with instructional improvement should be sensitive to the potential of computers and related developments for providing assistance to both teachers and learners.

More flexible organization of supporting services will be essential.

There is no doubt that flexibility will involve greater expenditures than inflexibility. It is much cheaper—and easier—to make services and resources available on a fixed schedule, or upon lengthy advance notice, or by supplying only insistent teacher requests. Inflexibility is cheaper at a given point in time but the results are more costly. There is a heavy cost in frustration and in diminution of learning.

It does not take a long memory to recall the period when films had to be ordered a year in advance. There may even be some schools where this is still common. Certainly, it is often the practice of teachers to use films when they arrive—perhaps for another class—even though they are out of context for the students who view them.

The problem of effective distribution must be solved. So must the problem of providing *all* kinds of supporting services *when* they are needed and where they are needed. Indeed, we must be aggressive in seeking out opportunities where services can be used. Of course, we must be equally assiduous in providing help to insure that teachers use both services and resources to the best effect.

The influence of supplementary services upon instruction and the curriculum needs to be better planned and understood.

Perhaps the widespread use of school buses has had a greater impact upon educational programs than anyone has suspected! Extra-curricular activities, student-teacher conferences, special help to students, and "staying after school" have had to be adjusted to bus schedules.

Other supplementary services that have affected the learning of students include health, social work and food services. The rules and procedures of custodians and clerks have considerable influence on the activities in classrooms and the receptiveness of students. One of our least studied problems in education is the direction and strength of influences of this kind. Unplanned and uncoordinated activities often provide many side-effects and handicaps.

Implications for Evaluation

Evaluation is central to the whole process of educational change. It is no exaggeration to say that *the curriculum will not change materially*—no matter what new proposals are inaugurated—*unless the methods of evaluating results are changed.* On the other hand, if the methods of evaluation *do* change, it is impossible for the curriculum not to change.

The 1967 ASCD Yearbook,[12] *Evaluation as Feedback and Guide,* lists five principles that should govern evaluation:

(1) Evaluation must facilitate self-evaluation;
(2) Evaluation must encompass every objective valued by the school;
(3) Evaluation must facilitate learning and teaching;
(4) Evaluation must produce records appropriate to the purposes for which records are essential; and
(5) Evaluation must provide continuing feedback into the larger questions of curriculum development and educational policy.

The foregoing statements underlie all the following recommendations and discussion.

The evaluation program of the school should incorporate data from all sources, including teacher-made instruments and procedures.

In how many schools is there a "testing program" which excludes the vast majority of tests used in those schools? Such a program—which in reality should be called "the standardized testing plan"—ignores all information garnered by teachers through their own examinations. It seems wasteful to neglect this reservoir of information, to say nothing of ignoring all other insights gained by teachers through other means.

Of course, locally collected data are usually excluded from a school's formal evaluation program because of the presumed "unscientific" quality of the procedures used. At the same time, whether or not the procedures are of great technical excellence, they represent often the only means the school has of obtaining information about many important educational goals.

It is doubtless true that we measure first what is easiest to measure, then—unless we are careful—we do not measure the rest at all. It is particularly important for all concerned with evaluation to insure that a school's program of evaluation includes systematic efforts to obtain information about *all* educational outcomes viewed as important. Unless this is done, most assuredly the areas which are not included will be treated by teachers as of secondary importance when they make their teaching plans.

The marking-grading system must be either materially changed or abandoned.

It is difficult to avoid the conviction that the marking-grading system exists primarily to serve two human characteristics, which need to be scrutinized. The first is the desire of men for simple answers to complex and worrisome matters. The second is the drive to compete, or more accurately, to egg others on to compete (for example, one's own children).

Certainly a mark (a letter or other symbol) seems to provide a quick measure of learning. But what does it really reveal? It is very difficult to take a mark and to unravel it into the various threads that were woven together to create it in the first place. These threads might well include the student's capacity, the amount of effort he has exerted, his current rate of learning growth, his attitudes and behavior in class and his personality, as well as such additional areas as absence, tardiness, neatness and spelling. Surely this is a complicated skein to reduce to a single letter or figure!

Those who resist changing the present marking-grading system usually do so on the basis of the demands and expectations of others. They say that the parents insist upon grades, and so do the colleges and universities. Some studies have seemed to show that it is the teachers who are most determined to retain the present system. Clearly, making changes in the system involves all the difficulties of changing the nature and convictions of people; so it is not suggested that we immediately abandon our present practices. Instead, it is recommended that, whether we retain the marking-grading system or not, *it is essential that we acquire and maintain adequate information about learners,* and that we do not reduce all we know about them to single scores. We must maintain a file of data adequate to provide us with a three-dimensional profile of each individual. To allow the marking-grading system to substitute for this borders on the unprofessional.

Self-evaluation techniques should be used by both educators and students.

Many believe that all real evaluation is self-evaluation. By this is meant that unless an individual internalizes an evaluation that is made of him he will not act in accordance with it.

Frequently, individuals who resist making changes in themselves on the basis of external evaluations are assiduous in making changes based on their own self-evaluations. External evaluation predisposes an individual to resist; internal evaluation predisposes him to act. It is a matter of common sense to do more to further the latter. Indeed, it is more than a matter of common sense; it is essential if the "new man" is to undertake continued learning and growth throughout his life. *Self-evaluation is the self-starter that energizes most programs of continued self-improvement.*

Students should participate in their own evaluation. They should help to establish goals and criteria for their own achievement. Only in this way will they have a realization of what they know and do not know, and what they should and should not do. Teachers should set an example by being willing to engage in self-evaluation themselves. One of the best-known techniques for this, of course, is the anonymous rating sheet that teachers may ask students to fill out.

But self-evaluation should permeate the whole structure. Just as the teachers encourage students, administrators should encourage teachers to engage in self-evaluation and to develop meaningful criteria and goals for their (the teachers') own work. Administrators should be "first behavers" among the professional staff, and should themselves do self-evaluation. Always, leaders should be willing to engage in the practices they urge upon those they lead. It is a rare superintendent or principal who has members of his staff fill out anonymous rating sheets on him. But this should be an administrator with whom one would be glad to work.

The evaluation program should emphasize the future to a much greater extent than the past.

If there is a conflict (and there need not be) between data-gathering which provides a record of the past and that which encourages future growth, the latter should be stressed. This conflict often seems to exist. For instance, probably the best way to find out what *has been* going on in a classroom is to "spy" upon the teacher. But few recommend this approach as an incentive to the teacher to engage in courageous and experimental efforts to improve. The final examination of a course, so to speak, puts the label on the package, indicating the contents, but often in the process leaves the student with neither guide nor motivation for continued learning.

Probably the essence of evaluation for encouraging future growth is that which "accentuates the positive". The "pull" of positive motivation seems to work better than the "push" of negative. Too much negative motivation—telling students their mistakes and penalizing them accordingly—has the opposite effect from that desired. Often it has killed the desire of students to learn further, even to the point of causing them to drop out of school (either physically or psychologically), rather than stimulating them to future improvement. In training animals and in dealing with little children, we usually seek out accomplishments we can legitimately praise. Somehow or other we feel that when people are older this approach is not needed. But it is, and its lack in the upper years of our school system may be one of our greatest deficiencies.

The apparent conflict between evaluation that records the past and that which looks to the future has led to much confusion. Often, a desire to maintain standards has caused teachers and schools to impose certain requirements on everyone. This may well result in preventing marginal individuals from "getting away with anything". Often it also prevents abler persons from advancing as far or being as creative in their work as they might. Any sacrifice of leaders to followers is difficult to defend; yet it is often the result of our practices.

There need be no conflict between these two evaluation emphases, if individualization takes place. However, this is not easy to do, and for many educators the choice seems to lie between standards or growth, on an either-or basis. If this be the case, the choice should be for growth, since if growth continues long enough there is no set of standards which cannot eventually be surpassed.

The ultimate criterion of educational accomplishment is in the later life of the individual.

Hansen (Ch. 2 in *Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Education*) calls attention to the danger of confusing means and ends. He says, for example, that we often agree that certain things are good in education, and use them as goals rather than using something more ultimate. This is a provocative idea. Often we have accepted test scores or other pieces of evidence as educational targets. But, the real goal of education is the "good life". This does not mean merely an easy life or a sybaritic one, but rather the "good life" as our society views it—a life dedicated to the values and satisfactions we believe to be our birthright.

If the ultimate criterion of successful education is in the lifetime that ensues, we are charged with a responsibility for doing more research involving follow-up studies of students. Rather than place all our reliance upon the data collected during school years, we should undertake longitudinal evaluations designed to find out, first, how well our students have turned out, and second, what measures readily available to us correlate best with these lifetime criteria.

Much research in education has dealt with bits and pieces of the total man or the total educational program. And yet, it is by no means clear that the bits and pieces add up to the totality, even assuming that they are all known. And so, we must look to our evaluation program to justify itself by showing that the information it yields is meaningful in terms of effective life patterns, and is not merely representative of what we *think* is predictive.

Implications for Teacher Education

Teacher education was considered briefly under a previous topic. Both the need for in-service education of teachers and the nature of that education were outlined. The area will now be expanded here to include pre-service teacher education, and the role of institutions of higher learning.

Sarason and his associates[13] a few years ago produced a small volume entitled *The Preparation of Teachers: An Unstudied Problem in Education.* This rather startling title was designed to call the reader's attention to the fact that although much has been written about teacher education, little has been done in the way of research. In consequence, we still do not know the best way to educate teachers on either a pre-service or in-service basis.

But we act as though we do. Typically, teacher education institutions provide programs that bear remarkable resemblances to one another. There is some kind of student-teaching experience, and usually other field experiences preceding it. There are various methods courses—some general and some specific to subject-matter fields. And there are what Conant[14] calls the "eclectic" courses—those attempting to inform the prospective teacher about education and its sociology, history, philosophy and psychology. Variation among institutions consists more in the amount and timing of these various elements than in their replacement with other experiences.

The foregoing paragraph refers to pre-service teacher education. The situation is not nearly so standard in in-service programs. To begin with, some in-service activities are degree-oriented and some are not; some are on campus and some are off; some are operated by institutions of higher learning, some by school districts, some by state departments of education, and some by various combinations of these agencies, with or without the involvement of other interested groups. In-service programs may be concerned with improving the skills of teachers; or they may seek to help teachers and others develop into educational specialists or administrators.

They may try to turn liberal arts degree-holders into teachers; or they may just be concerned with working on the problems and needs of school districts. Their financing may come from various sources, public and private, many of which have only quite recently become interested in the area.

If, then, this is the current state of teacher education, what can be said about the challenges and possibilities for the years ahead?

Teacher education institutions must experiment with revised forms of pre-service programs designed to meet new needs.

It is not without reason that education courses have acquired the reputation of being dull and devoid of content. Teaching is an activity, not a discipline, and talking about teaching is a poor substitute for watching or doing it. Many new approaches are now in either the exploration or dissemination stage, including:

1. Use of videotape recordings to bring field situations into the campus classroom for student analysis, or to provide the neophyte teacher with a chance to see himself in operation;

2. Establishment of additional kinds of field experiences for prospective teachers, including a student-teaching period of variable length, the use of students as teacher aides, tutors, or workers in community agencies, and such post-student-teaching experiences as part- or full-time internships;

3. Closer ties between education courses (including psychology and other supporting areas) and field experiences, in order to keep the practical implications of these courses foremost in the minds of both students and teachers; and

4. Development of new kinds of course experiences and sequences, including long-lasting seminars, team-taught courses involving two or more disciplines, and opportunities for greater independence in planning by the future teacher.

Conant has called for greater individuality on the part of teacher education institutions. Surely, this could only lead to exploring new and creative ways of preparing teachers. With state departments of education more and more dedicated to the principle of the approved-program approach to teacher certification, the teacher-preparing institutions should respond by seeking earnestly and courageously to find better ways to do the job.

In-service education should become increasingly oriented to the needs of the field.

Workshops were pioneered on college campuses. Today, it is probable that far more workshops (or at least what are called workshops!) occur in school districts than in colleges. Why? Because they provide simultaneously an opportunity for the individual to learn something and for the school district to gain something.

As recently as the mid-1950's, colleges were experiencing falling enrollments in their summer workshops, while they were also receiving mounting requests for extension courses and participation in local workshops. Massive support from the National Science Foundation, the U.S. Office of Education and others have at least temporarily reversed this trend. Millions of dollars have poured into campus programs to up-grade teachers' skills, and thousands of teachers have participated. There is no doubt that these programs have been immensely beneficial. There is also little doubt that many persons attending them have encountered difficulty in translating into local practices what they have learned.

A prime need is to bring closer together the teacher education programs of schools and colleges. The same principle applies here as in pre-service education. Teaching is an act, not a body of knowledge, and the teaching of teaching must be brought into the closest possible contact with the teaching act itself. Colleges must find ways to offer extension courses where students can work on field problems as part of the course requirements. Colleges must help school districts plan and execute workshops centering on local needs, and must provide credit toward advanced degrees for participation in them. School boards must allocate more funds to this kind of endeavor, recognizing that the teachers' progress is also the progress of the district. All of those associated with in-service programs should seek new sources of funds for such activities.

New and creative forms of cooperation between colleges and schools must be found.

Student teaching has long represented the most common form of school-college cooperation. Research projects, extension courses and workshops, pre-student-teaching experiences, consultancies and joint participation in educational groups are other forms which occur.

But these are somewhat fortuitous and unsatisfactory. School districts are currently expressing dissatisfaction with conventional arrangements for student teaching by insisting upon greater control over assignment of student teachers. College staffs often feel frustrated in their efforts to find appropriate field contacts for students. Both sides remain uncomfortably unaware of current activities and plans of the other.

Schools and colleges have more interests in common than in conflict. For both, the improvement of teachers and teaching is a prime target. A reservoir of young people dedicated to an educational career represents a resource of value to schools, while the schools are, of course, vital to students. Field educators and campus faculty are both concerned with the problems and progress of education, and each has much to offer the other. People from the field can provide students and professors with practical information and wisdom. College personnel can bring important insights to the planning and improvement of school activities.

How can all this be done? The following are a few possibilities:

1. Identify schools or classrooms that might be called laboratory schools or classrooms. Have these widely used for field visits, and identify the teachers and administrators involved as extension faculty of the college. Use such people as resource people, and as teachers of evening and summer classes, or even as Conant's "clinical professors of education";

2. Name a coordinating or liaison committee to consider and encourage plans and proposals for joint school-college action;

3. Encourage boards of cooperative services and other groups of school districts and educators to use college facilities for centralizing their activities;

4. Make known the college personnel interested in discussing problems with school personnel.

Many persons and groups, including accrediting agencies, have viewed the use of field educators to teach in campus programs as a source of weakness rather than of strength. The typically lower academic qualifications of these persons and the failure to involve them in planning have often led to courses poorly integrated into the regular curriculum. Still, such individuals can bring important resources to the teacher education program, and they provide an invaluable opportunity to tie together the efforts of school and campus. Ways must be found to capitalize on the strengths and overcome the weaknesses—largely through careful selection of these persons and their involvement in planning the teacher education curriculum.

In any event, for too long there has been a distinction between "town" and "gown". Teacher education, whether on- or off-campus should be the subject of joint planning between field educators and college faculty.

There must be a new approach to admission, screening, and evaluation of candidates for the teaching profession.

The need for each individual to find a teaching style that fits his unique personal make-up implies that there are different kinds of teachers in our profession. It also suggests that there are probably many persons in education who should never have been admitted. Indeed, we all know at first hand many such individuals.

At present, we have no screening process that can prevent the majority of these people from becoming teachers. Even when one or more professors believe a young person to be morally or emotionally unfit for teaching, it is rarely possible to act upon this belief. Proof is lacking; others take opposite views; and even those who believe a prospective teacher to be a poor prospect are reluctant to deny the possibility that they might be wrong. They are conscious of the injustice they might be doing someone, and they tend to give him the benefit of the doubt. This is true in spite of the obvious merit of giving the benefit of the doubt to the many children who will be his future students.

We must find out more about the emotional make-up of good and poor teachers, and about the emotional make-up of those who would enter the profession. At present, we know that there are certain kinds of persons we do not want in the classroom—the sadistic, the potential psychotic, the emotionally unstable. Often, these people are good examination-takers who handle themselves well in face-to-face contact with professors. Often, they use these talents to open the door to teaching.

We must have a procedure whereby prospective teachers receive psychological evaluations, through appropriate devices, or depth interviews, or both. If it is too expensive to do this for all teacher candidates, we should at least require it for any that reveal any clue that it is needed. At the same time, we should seek to find the kinds of teaching that various types of persons can do best, and concentrate teacher education efforts toward helping each capitalize on his own special strength. Often we try to develop people "across the grain", trying to make all become a particular kind of teaching individual which we believe to be desirable.

Perhaps the best way to individualize teacher education is through the kind of deeply human contact mentioned before. Some of the experimental programs sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health may point the way. These are efforts to help prospective teachers gain their professional preparation in a manner that will also help them achieve self-understanding and mental health. This may seem like a tall order, but the protection of the hundreds—or often thousands—of children who will come under each teacher's influence during a lifetime career demands it.

Implications for Continuing Education

The trend toward extending universal education upward, which may have begun with Franklin's founding of his academy in 1751, has not ceased nor is it likely to do so. Just as the latter decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the present one presented the explosive emergence of universal secondary education, so we are presently in a trend that will end, not merely in the development of universal or near-universal higher education, but in an environment of lifelong education which may eventually involve all or most of the adult population of the future.

All projections for the future envision ever-increasing amounts of leisure time. Therefore, as never before in history, we will have the need for personal self-fulfillment activities outside the working world. On a mass scale, we will have people living lives that in the past were the exclusive province of ladies and gentlemen of leisure.

Further, ever-changing technology is raising the prospect that an individual may possibly change careers one or more time during his lifetime. Certainly, technological unemployment is with us today, with consequent need for retraining and upgrading the skills of persons thrown out of work.

Finally, the war on poverty will not abate. In a free, affluent society, the islands of poverty and social exclusion weigh ever more heavily on the conscience of all of us. What was once a nagging anxiety many of us rationalized or hid away has now become a flood tide of concern that will not be dammed or diverted. And education dominates the arsenal for the fight.

There are several things we must do:

We must seek out the "losers" in our society and provide educational programs that will help them gain self-respect and the resources to attain their rightful place.

This will demand a revolution in adult education. Night classes, on-the-job training, extension courses and campus programs for "re-treads" are not sufficient. Nor are teachers whose approach in effect says to the underprivileged: "Your culture is inferior to mine; you must change."

We need an attack which will involve the joint efforts of all agencies: schools, colleges, state and local governments, religious institutions, community agencies, and all others concerned—most of all, the underprivileged themselves. We need a view of education, too, which is not institutionalized. The imposing edifices which sometimes house our formal learning activities are for many the monuments of a society from which they are excluded. We must find people and programs that go to the persons who need them and engage in meaningful dialogue with these persons. We must study the values, mores and cultures of the disadvantaged in order to help them take pride in themselves and their heritage, so they can confront the dominant culture with a contribution to make and not merely as outsiders who must be converted to be admitted.

It is not clear what form all this will take. This kind of education will probably take many forms if is is to succeed. It *is* clear that a start must be made. What is needed most is a corps of persons willing to commit themselves to the effort. Both they and society will be rewarded richly, for overcoming the human waste we are now tolerating can make a better world for everyone. The knowledge that they are helping others achieve the satisfactions we all covet for ourselves may well be the greatest satisfaction of all.

Schools and colleges must view themselves as learning centers for the community.

It seems strange that our educational institutions are so ready to divorce themselves from those they have just educated, to say nothing of the other adults of the community. It is almost as though we view education as *terminal* (in fact, we often use that word), in spite of the lip service we pay to life-long education. Graduation ceremonies are called "commencement", but we act as though we do not believe it.

Of course, many school districts have adult education programs. So do many colleges and universities, and the junior colleges, which often proclaim their dedication to the concept by using the term "community college". But how well do these programs meet the need?

Adult education authorities often complain about the difficulty of interesting people in adult education. What they mean is that it is hard for them to get people interested in the kind of formal experiences they offer. There doesn't seem to be much disinterest in plays, concerts, television programs, sports events, service clubs and many other kinds of activities.

Perhaps these are not educational, in the minds of many. But certainly people learn from them. One writer has said:

> It is one of the great ironies (and one of the great tragedies) of American education that educators redefined education to mean only schooling precisely at that moment in time when the mass media were emerging as educational instruments of profound, perhaps paramount, importance.[15]

Probably our greatest need is to find new ways of viewing learning experiences—ways that are not so institutionalized as are formal classes and courses.

Educational television represents one effort to translate learning into the language of the listener. But commercial television is probably in better communication with more persons. Perhaps educational TV has been too much dominated by those with a conventional view of education and those who seek to "elevate" the masses. A joint effort by the people who reach the audience best and the ones who are most concerned with learning might be fruitful.

But schools and colleges need to get more involved in informal educational work. Cooperative projects with libraries, community centers, social and service organizations, and industries (in their programs for their own employees) offer much promise. The Parent-Teacher Association should be viewed much more as a cooperative effort to aid *both* teachers and parents in their efforts to continue learning and much less as a one-way street down which the school runs its bandwagon.

With the exception of athletic events, there are few occasions when the general public enters a school building or college campus. Materials in the libraries, facilities for meetings, human resources and other advantages potentially available to the community are reserved for formally enrolled students. Even when institutions seek to provide services to persons and groups, this is often not widely known, or if known, is seldom used. It is rare for a citizen at large to drop into the reading room of a college library.

And yet, all our educational institutions are dedicated to the principle of transmitting our cultural heritage. Why should we limit this only to certain kinds of formal contact? True, there are problems in terms of limits on use of public property, wear and tear on facilities, cost of extra services, inadequate resources and the like. But education has solved much greater problems than these in the past, and with a will, could do so in this case.

In brief, the door is wide open for all kinds of flexible, informal, creative efforts to meet citizens' needs for continued learning. In some instances, this involves the educational institutions going out into the community; in others, it anticipates the reverse. In all cases, it demands that the institutions view themselves as learning centers for community service, with a continuing responsibility for finding new and better ways to serve.

Increasing attention should be paid to job training and retraining, and on-the-job training.

Even as vocational education should receive greater emphasis in the school curriculum, so also should adult vocational education gain in importance. In particular, there must be great expansion in the number and kind of programs offered to those who need new or additional job skills. Programs like the Job Corps are already revealing this focus.

One of the principal forms of on-the-job training is the in-service education program for teachers. But, the approach which provides continuing vocational and professional training to educators can also be used with others. Schools, colleges and universities must become increasingly involved in joint activities with those who desire special programs for their present or future employees.

Education for the elderly should increase.

As more people live longer, they create an increasing demand for services specially designed for them. This is just as true for education as for any other area.

One of the best therapies for the problems of aging is meaningful activity—especially activity which takes one out of one's self. Education for the elderly is uniquely calculated to give them experiences which are appropriate to their interests and physical condition. Without a doubt, we must find ever better and expanding ways to do this.

We must understand the difference between education and schooling, and foster all kinds of educative activities.

Mass media are of profound importance in today's world. The extension of man's senses through radio, television, films, newspapers, magazines and books represents a kind of continuing education which has tremendous impact. Educators should study mass media and other forms of mass education and learn to use their methods when appropriate. They should also seek ways to influence teaching and learning through the mass media. *For too long schoolmen have permitted themselves the luxury of believing they were the sole—or main—purveyors of education and knowledge.* Instead, they control only a minor portion of the sources of knowledge. The time is here when they must use the remainder.

In Conclusion

Where does one go from here? The preceding pages present many proposals. How does one decide where to begin?

This paper is directed to both educators and laymen. Some who read it will be concerned with education on a state-wide or regional basis. Most, though, will be concerned with specific districts, schools or students.

It is suggested that everyone start where he feels a need. If any of the suggestions find a home, those are the ones to work on. If they inspire anyone to study and plan additional areas, then *these* are the first order of business.

We are a people with a pluralistic tradition. Further, the best criterion for determining promising plans is competition in the free market-place of ideas. Therefore, there is room for many persons to work on many projects. The likelihood of maximum progress is less in a highly centralized approach than in one which is de-centralized.

The final challenge then is to provide help, encouragement, and *freedom* for all to do the best they can. Any failure and neglect thus permitted will be vastly outweighed by the potential which is thereby released. This is the way education has progressed in the past, and this is the most hopeful road for the future!

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APPENDIX A

Educational Goals as Reflected in Education Statements of Certain States*

	The Ideal of Intellectual Discipline	*Economic Independence and Vocational Opportunity*	*Citizenship and Civic Responsibility*	*Social Development and Human Relationships*	*Morals and Ethical Character*	*Self-Realization Including Health and Psychological Needs*
Maryland	Develop academic competencies; acquire and use basic skills	Develop economic and vocational competence	Be an effective citizen	Be an effective family member; appreciate other cultures	Develop moral, ethical, and spiritual values	Develop and maintain sound mental and physical health; use leisure time wisely; develop aesthetic values
Pennsylvania	Mastery of the basic skills; acquire a positive attitude toward the school and learning; appreciation of human achievement in science, social science, humanities and arts	Opportunity to be creative in one or more fields; preparation for productive life	Acquire the attitudes associated with responsible citizenship	Understanding and appreciation of persons belonging to social, cultural and ethnic groups different from his own		Understanding of himself and an appreciation of his worthiness as a member of society; acquire good health habits; emotional wellbeing
Massachusetts	Read, write, and calculate with numbers; uses communication channels	Understand the economy and uses the world of work	Understand government and uses the political processes	Know social and cultural heritage	Enjoyment of natural rights and the blessing of life	Developing talent and capacities; know himself; caring is a matter of self-respect and human dignity
Oregon	Develop ability to reason, capacity for self-instruction and evaluation; develop a respect for intellectual achievement	Develop skills for vocational and economic competence	Develop civic and social conscience	Gain the accumulated culture and knowledge of man	Develop effective values, ethical and moral integrity	Develop aesthetic discrimination; physical, mental and emotional health

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*Governor's Committee on Public School Education, *Goals for Public Education in Texas*, 1966.

APPENDIX B

THE PERSISTENT GOALS IN PUBLIC EDUCATION (HISTORICAL LANDMARKS)*

	The Ideal of Intellectual Discipline	*Economic Independence and Vocational Opportunity*	*Citizenship and Civic Responsibility*	*Social Development and Human Relationships*	*Morals and Ethical Character*	*Self-Realization Including Health and Psychological Needs*
1635—The Latin Grammar School	The classics and religion				Religious sects	
1751—The Academies	The classics, mathematics and mind training	Some attention to types of vocational instruction	Citizenship		Religious education	
1821—The First High School	Intellectual training	Sufficient to insure economic independence	Performance of duties as a citizen; intelligent participation in government	Good servants of the people	Develop disciplined ways of thinking, feeling, acting: a common morality	
1846—Tenth Annual Report	A degree of education as will enable him to perform all social, civic and moral duties	To perform domestic duties	Perform all civic duties	Perform all social duties	Perform moral duties	
1893—The Committee of Ten	No difference should be made in the program for those who plan to enter college and those who go directly into adult life					

*Governor's Committee on Public School Education, *Goals for Public Education in Texas*, 1966.

THE PERSISTENT GOALS IN PUBLIC EDUCATION (HISTORICAL LANDMARKS)* *(Continued)*

	The Ideal of Intellectual Discipline	*Economic Independence and Vocational Opportunity*	*Citizenship and Civic Responsibility*	*Social Development and Human Relationships*	*Morals and Ethical Character*	*Self-Realization Including Health and Psychological Needs*
1918—The Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education	Command of the fundamental processes: includes application	Vocation: equip the individual to secure a livelihood	Civic Education: act well his part as a member of neighborhood, town, state, nation, and understand international problems	Worthy home membership; health; worthy use of leisure time	Ethical character: responsibility, initiative, spirit of service	
1927—The NEA *Fifth Yearbook* on Aims in Education in the United States	Understand and appreciate the world of nature; a concept of self		Appreciation of the force of law that is operating universally	Understanding and an appreciation of organized society	Appreciation of the force of love that is operating universally	An understanding and an adequate evaluation of the self
1934—Socio-Economic Goals of America	Mental security, skills and knowledges	Economic security; suitable occupation	Fair play and equality of opportunity	Fair play; flexible personality	Freedom: values and outlooks	Hereditary strength, physical security; an active flexible personality
1936—American Youth Commission	Urged an interrelationship between vocational and general education; must be more intelligent	Emphasize adjustability; less emphasis on training for a specific operation and position	Service should be emphasized	Must be able to get along with people, work with them, direct them		
1938—The EPC on the Functions of Education in American Democracy	The inquiring mind, an appetite for learning, speak clearly, read efficiently, write effectively, solve problems; skilled in listening and observing	Gives responsible direction to his own life; good workmanship, has understanding of job opportunities, etc.	Social justice and understanding, tolerance, conservation, observes law, devotion to democratic ideals	Respect for humanity, cooperates, is courteous, appreciates home, enjoys friends		Protect his health, understand basic health facts: participates in recreation activities; appreciates beauty and proper use of leisure

* Governor's Committee on Public School Education, *Goals for Public Education in Texas*, 1966.

THE PERSISTENT GOALS IN PUBLIC EDUCATION (HISTORICAL LANDMARKS)* *(Continued)*

	The Ideal of Intellectual Discipline	*Economic Independence and Vocational Opportunity*	*Citizenship and Civic Responsibility*	*Social Development and Human Relationships*	*Morals and Ethical Character*	*Self-Realization Including Health and Psychological Needs*
1944—The Imperative Needs of Youth	Stimulate intellectual curiosity, and cultivate the ability to think rationally	Equip him to enter an occupation suitable to his needs and abilities	Prepare him to assume the full responsibilities of American citizenship		An appreciation of the ethical values which undergird all life in a democratic society	Attain and preserve mental and physical health
1953—Mid-Century Committee on Outcomes in Elementary Education	Communication; quantitative relationship; the social world, the physical world			Social relations	Ethical behavior, standards, values	Physical development, health, and body care; individual social and emotional development; aesthetic development
1959—NEA Project on Instruction	Developing skills in communication and rational thought	Information about the world of work	Introducing the child to his cultural heritage in a systematic manner		Reinforcing moral and spiritual values	Developing aesthetic appreciation
1966—Commission on Imperatives in Education	Discover and nurture creative talent	To prepare for the world of work	Keep democracy working; make intelligent use of natural resources; make urban life rewarding and satisfying	Work with other people of the world for human betterment	Strengthen the moral fabric of society	Deal constructively with psychological tension; make the best use of leisure time

*Governor's Committee on Public School Education, *Goals for Public Education in Texas*, 1966.

APPENDIX C

STATEMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION*

THE OBJECTIVES OF SELF-REALIZATION

The Inquiring Mind. The educated person has an appetite for learning.

Speech. The educated person can speak the mother tongue clearly.

Reading. The educated person reads the mother tongue efficiently.

Writing. The educated person writes the mother tongue effectively.

Number. The educated person solves his problems of counting and calculating.

Sight and Hearing. The educated person is skilled in listening and observing.

Health Knowledge. The educated person understands the basic facts concerning health and disease.

Health Habits. The educated person protects his own health and that of his dependents.

Public Health. The educated person works to improve the health of the community.

Recreation. The educated person is participant and spectator in many sports and other pastimes.

Intellectual Interests. The educated person has mental resources for the use of leisure.

Esthetic Interests. The educated person appreciates beauty.

Character. The educated person gives responsible direction to his own life.

THE OBJECTIVES OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

Respect for Humanity. The educated person puts human relationships first.

Friendships. The educated person enjoys a rich, sincere, and varied social life.

Cooperation. The educated person can work and play with others.

Courtesy. The educated person observes the amenities of social behavior.

Appreciation of the Home. The educated person appreciates the family as a social institution.

Conservation of the Home. The educated person conserves family ideals.

Homemaking. The educated person is skilled in homemaking.

Democracy in the Home. The educated person maintains democratic family relationships.

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*From *The Purposes of Education*, Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association.

THE OBJECTIVES OF ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

Work. The educated producer knows the satisfaction of good workmanship.

Occupational Information. The educated producer understands the requirements and opportunities for various jobs.

Occupational Choice. The educated producer has _selected_ his occupation.

Occupational Efficiency. The educated producer succeeds in his chosen vocation.

Occupational Adjustment. The educated producer maintains and improves his efficiency.

Occupational Appreciation. The educated producer appreciates the social value of his work.

Personal Economics. The educated consumer plans the economics of his own life.

Consumer Judgment. The educated consumer develops standards for guiding his expenditures.

Efficiency in Buying. The educated consumer is an informed and skillful buyer.

Consumer Protection. The educated consumer takes appropriate measures to safeguard his interests.

THE OBJECTIVES OF CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

Social Justice. The educated citizen is sensitive to the disparities of human circumstances.

Social Activity. The educated citizen acts to correct unsatisfactory conditions.

Social Understanding. The educated citizen seeks to understand social structures and social processes.

Critical Judgment. The educated citizen has defenses against propaganda.

Tolerance. The educated citizen respects honest differences of opinion.

Conservation. The educated citizen has a regard for the nation's resources.

Social Applications of Science. The educated citizen measures scientific advance by its contribution to the general welfare.

World Citizenship. The educated citizen is a cooperating member of the world community.

Law Observance. The educated citizen respects the law.

Economic Literacy. The educated citizen is economically literate.

Political Citizenship. The educated citizen accepts his civic duties.

Devotion to Democracy. The educated citizen acts upon an unswerving loyalty to democratic ideals.

The Educational Program:

Part Two

J. CECIL PARKER* AND RAYMOND A. MCGUIRE**

The authors of Part Two are in complete agreement with the statement of Dr. Bebell on page 2, Part One, of this chapter, that:

> All agree on this fact of change. Indeed, perhaps it is the fact of change alone which is not subject to further alteration. In consequence, the future will demand citizens who have been trained to *think* rather than primarily to remember. Increasingly, the information available to an individual in school may become outmoded, irrelevant, or superseded before his working life is over. His continuing effectiveness should reside in his ability to solve problems and continue learning rather than be based on his prior training and the knowledge acquired in formal schooling.

Operational problems literally jump out of the walls when any individual, group, or organization initiates procedures to make decisions concerning movement from such agreement to particular curriculum plans. This is intensified when the search is for plans which offer high potential of educating for change, for producing the "individual in process" and the creative-thinking-problem-solving man.

This supplement attempts to aid individuals, groups, organizations, and each state as it deals with the innumerable operational problems. It offers some analysis of: (1) issues to be confronted; (2) basic concepts; (3) some approaches and points of view; (4) the probable scope of learning experiences in the curriculum; and (5) some specific proposals. Since the Eight-State Project is concerned with the process of planning, these pages do not present *a* design or *the* design of the educational program of the future. It is expected that this supplement will provide some additional concepts as a base for further interaction, planning and action.

Some Basic Issues Requiring Continuous Consideration

A few "Issues" are presented here that cannot be avoided by any individual, group, organization, or state in making decisions concerning the substance and procedures to be included in the continuous planning of educational programs for the future.

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The concept of "Issue" operative here is more closely related to problems to be continuously attended to, than to either/or solutions or clear cut dichotomies. Every issue is a possible controversial area when people come to the point of making decisions. It is clear that situational factors reach proportions of major significance when activities are initiated with any relationship to such issues. This means that, at the present time (if ever), there are no absolutely "right" or "wrong" resolutions for the issues. Further, it means that individuals, groups and organizations must forever be in process as they relate in any way to such issues.

The issues presented here have been selected primarily by means of analyses of the present situation in public education with little or no reference to historical dimensions or to our abilities (or lack of them) to predict the future.

What are the major roles of public education?

Public education, reduced to the simplest possible terms, is a set of devices created by a society to accomplish something it considers important. Since the formal education program cannot be expected to accomplish *everything,* selection, as a set of operational procedures, is immediately introduced. These may be deliberative, come by default, or be determined by those with the "most power" or those who "yell" the most and the loudest.

It is proposed here that *all* those involved or affected in any given situation must create and utilize visible machinery and procedures for reaching rational conclusions.

In the United States we seem to be turning to education as a principal contributor to solutions for most all of our problems—poverty, literacy war, peace, racism, violence, stable government, use of drugs, health, and a number of others. *We are demanding equality of opportunity and excellence.*

Are the major roles of public education to be cognitive, non-cognitive or both? To what extent?

Are we to value diversity or unity or both? If it is to be both, what questions must be raised and dealt with realistically? What about conformity and non-conformity? To what?

We submit that there must be widespread rethinking of the major roles of public education. In a pluralistic society (by commitment and in fact) the concept of success in school as achievement in a limited number of academic subjects must be expanded to include directly a wide range of the activities of individuals and groups in a pluralistic society.

The debate concerning the roles of public education as an agency directly related to matters of "social policy" and current human activities is underway throughout the world. Robert G. Hanvey, Curriculum Research Director, American Anthropological Association, has raised the question, "Will the schools, as instruments of the society, actually be permitted to diffuse a knowledge so recognizably threatening to traditional assumptions, explanations, and values—a knowledge that until now has been restricted, in precise terms at least, to a college-educated elite?"[1]* It is probable that increased attention to the major roles of public education will produce some changes in our over-all conception of education.

What are the sources of the public school curriculum?

Historically, the major source of the public school curriculum has been the several disciplines (subjects) as developed by scholars in the fields of study. Each has become more and more specialized with the passage of time. There seem to have been two dominant forces prevailing: (1) the desire to provide for success in studying the subjects in college; and (2) the inner logic of the discipline including the recent development of confidence in the "structure" of each of the subjects. Larger and larger numbers of widely varying types of individuals have continued for longer periods in school. At the same time, problems have increased in number and complexity along with high density living and increasingly complex social, economic, and political organizations. Accompanying the present awareness of data, relevant to the conditions mentioned above, many have suggested that the schools have failed. It seems reasonable to assume that decisions concerning the sources of the curriculum are directly related to the successes and failures of public education, whatever one may think about the nature and extent of the accomplishments of the schools.

We suggest that, in addition to the disciplines as sources of the curriculum, serious study, research, and consideration must be devoted to: (1) the commitments of the American people in such sources as the U. S. Constitution and historically sanctioned ideas; (2) people doing things as individuals and as groups as they go about the daily business of living; and (3) the procedures, processes, operations, and techniques required to achieve high quality performance. Present results of efforts to develop taxonomies (classifications) of human activities and the inherent processes indicate that they are far from identical with the organization of the subject matter as we know and use them. Tremendous effort and expenditure of resources in the development of usable taxonomies of human activities and the integral processes seem to us to be a must for the future.

What concepts of teaching and of the roles of the teacher are acceptable?

The traditional concept of teaching reached proportions of a hard stereotype—one who knows telling those who do not know. The teacher was expected to be "teaching" during the entire school day. Recently, these concepts of teaching and of the role of the teacher have been challenged from many sources. There is widespread discussion and exploration of team teaching, inductive methods, discovery methods, inquiry methods, programmed instruction, computer related instruction, simulation, games, process as content, independent study, interdisciplinary approaches, involvement of the students and other modifications of our concepts of teaching and the role of the teacher. These discussions will and should continue and hopefully will be expanded. Surely, we must accept the idea that teaching is much more than "telling" and "demanding" and that the teacher's roles include time and resources (as an integral part of his job) to keep up, to explore, to innovate, to invent and for in-service education. It could be that *learning to raise appropriate questions is one of the most significant outcomes of the education of both teachers and students.*

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*Numbers refer to footnote references at end of Part Two, Chapter 1.

What about values and valuing?

Public education, according to many reporters, has been dominated by something called middle-class standards and has persisted in proclaiming a stance of neutrality in the teaching of values. Whatever the facts (generalizations are truly impossible), both the present and the future cry for extensive and intensive deliberative efforts to arrive at clear cut operational positions for public education on a wide range of questions concerning values and valuing. We would not presume to determine these operational positions for all. We do insist that visible machinery, organization, and procedures are imperative for the needed dialogues in this crucial aspect of planning for future programs of education. We are convinced that high potentials reside in the direct study of the sources of values, how values change, alternative consequences of accepting particular values, the processes of using values in making choices, why some values persist and why some are transitory. Is education for change to include any direct or indirect reference to changes in values? Can we learn how to narrow the gap between verbal commitment and behavior in the realm of values and valuing?

Basic Concepts for Decision Making in Planning Educational Programs

Curriculum planning in the past has been primarily a series of segmented operations based upon the subject matter fields to be taught. Little or no attention has been given to the *totality*—to what the student's day, week, month, or year is like in school—or to the meaningful relationships between the several segmented parts. Planning for the future will require the acceleration of acceptance of this dimension as a determining one if effectiveness is to be increased.

We present here a formulation of twelve concepts thought to be crucial to decisions concerning the totality of any curriculum plans. The sources of the concepts are multiple. Several of the disciplines have contributed. Analyses of the current scene have been a factor along with our accumulated experience and that of other "generalists."

The concepts are stated simply and directly. They may seem to many to be elementary and more or less obvious. It is our judgment that this is not true. Rather, we suggest that in such concepts as these reside the real substance of curriculum planning operations that will achieve a dominant role in the future. The achievement of the "perfect" courses in physics, chemistry, English, social science, etc., is not adequate for the solution of many of our planning problems.

Some things are more important than others.

What determines relative importance? Possibly for public education, importance is determined by *relevance* to the individual as he engages in a wide variety of activities, to the operation, problems, and improvement of society, as well as to the diverse sub-cultures included in a pluralistic society. Our present knowledge indicates that it is safe to assume that *the individual learns best when learning experiences can become significant to him personally*. The achievement of significance is dependent upon who the learner is and the situational factors prevailing at a given time. Knowledge, concepts, ideas, facts, actions become most significant to an individual: (1) when he can become involved emotionally as well as intellectually; (2) when it can be seen as a basis for appropriate (to him) action; and (3) when a solution is demanded by the exigencies of the situation as he perceives them.

A primary task of curriculum planning for the future may be the formulation of conclusions (always in process) concerning the relative importance of the innumerable candidates for inclusion within the learning experiences of individuals and groups. The total universe here certainly must be more than the inner logic of the traditional subject matter fields.

Some things are more difficult and complex than others.

There are at least four major factors involved in difficulty and complexity: (1) who the individual or the group is; (2) the substance and structure of the materials at hand; (3) the perceived relevance of the materials to the individual or group; and (4) the extent to which the individual or group has opportunities to experience use of the learning products. Possibly we have concentrated too much on substance and structure and have not attended to other factors adequately as we have made decisions about difficulty and complexity.

Some things take longer to learn than others.

This means that it is necessary to make numerous decisions about the relative time required for learning and about the use of time and resources. Further, if we become serious about individual differences, the invention of now unknown ways to vary the use of time and resources is imperative.

Individuals differ in many respects.

For some time there has been accumulating an array of empirical evidence concerning the innumerable ways in which individuals differ.

One result has been to vary the time available to individuals to learn "the curriculum." Some practices have related to the methods resorted to in the learning processes. Frequently, there have been modifications of "the curriculum" in an effort to accommodate individual differences by grouping or teaching for the slow, the average, and the fast learners. The doors to the accommodation of individual differences have been opened only slightly. The potentials for increased effectiveness are unlimited if we will invent, discover, and explore in this area.

How people relate themselves to each other is crucially basic to progress toward solutions of our problems of living together.

This is probably the most significant dimension of planning educational programs for the future. Any analysis of the current scene indicates that we have not made much progress in learning how and with what "to teach" individuals and groups to value differences and to live together with satisfying results. Knowing the history of our country (or that of any other) seems not to have contributed much. Providing opportunities for people who are unlike in many ways to do a variety of things together offers promise. What about conflict situations? Shall they remain simply "controversial" or is it possible that we can learn how to teach and study them in ways that will contribute to living together with satisfying results?

Success and achievement are the most effective motivators with the possible exception of "acceptance".

This may be an overstatement in view of our meager knowledge of motivation. However, there is considerable evidence to support the time-worn statement, "Nothing succeeds like success." Curriculum planning for the future certainly must explore extensively the results of adding materially to the successful experiences of learners (and of teachers).

The past is mostly gone, the present is here and the future is predictable to some extent.

The problems of relative emphasis upon the past, the present, and the future are eternally present in curriculum planning operations. The impact of tradition has been strong in the direction of emphasis upon the past. We suggest that the alternative solutions to many of our problems are not clearly discernible in the record of the past. In similar fashion, the prediction of the future may not be adequate because of the probable development of conflicts or contrasts in visible trends (regardless of the methods of projection) and the development of new "knowledge" as well as changing situational factors. In any planning effort there must therefore be more and more consideration of emphasis upon the present, in order to consider the emerging future. We would be pleased for the American student to know at least as much about the urban ghetto and the emerging metropolitan society as he does about the American Indian.

A recent volume, *Metropolis in Crisis. Social and Political Perspectives,*[2] deals with the dimensions of the crisis by presenting analyses of race, housing, poverty, education, crime, transportation, air pollution, and finance.

In 1960 almost 65% of the population of the United States lived in 212 standard metropolitan statistical areas. In 1940 it was 40%. The increase continues apace and no evidence indicates a reversal. In fact all projections are for larger and larger metropolitan areas including continuing changes in the racial and sub-group culture composition of each.

The whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

When numerous parts or segments are put together in any set of functional relationships something new has been added to the parts or segments. What is new is a particular or specific set of relationships between the parts. Our developing technology demonstrates this at every hand. As essential as they are, the parts of a missile are not a missile. Something has to be done with sensitive precision to the parts. Specified conditions and relationships must be created. This concept applies to curriculum plans, learning experiences, and human relations.

Most situations (if not all) are problem situations in that choices among alternatives are integral to each situation.

When an individual decides to buy a car, go to the theater or to join any organization he is confronted with multiple phenomena including several cars, theaters or organizations. Choices require problem solving methodologies because the acquisition and treatment of information and data are necessary.

All of the alternatives (ideas) have not yet been discovered, invented, created, or developed.

It is improbable that anyone can deny this. Yet we frequently ignore it by searching for "answers" in the world of the "known" to the exclusion of factors having to do with creating, developing, or inventing. We are convinced that curriculum planning for the future must include major emphasis upon this fact. What is not "known" at any given time is important curriculum content.

The generation, creation, and development of additional (new or different) alternatives (ideas) may be the most crucial dimension of the future.

Available evidence supports strongly the fact that an evolving technology is dependent upon the processes of generation, creation, and development. Human problems have increased in quantity, quality, and complexity more rapidly than have the "answers." In curriculum planning, we do not have all of the "answers" to select from and to teach. The better part of valor and of wisdom is to develop curriculum plans and materials with great emphasis upon all that is involved in generation, creation, development, and production of additional alternatives.

Change seems to be one accurate prediction for the future.

How do we educate for change? Should we? Do we know how? If not, is it possible to learn how? It is our judgment that *curriculum planning for the future must include educating for change.* We have some knowledge concerning how. We can learn much more. There are important clues present in our experiences with "open minds," "closed minds," "open systems," and "closed systems."[3]

Some Problems of Approach and Point of View

Start with questions—what questions?

Melvin Tumin, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Princeton University, recently has formulated the following statement:

> . . . that no amount of curriculum reform will have the slightest significance if it doesn't ask the right questions at the outset.
>
> There is one major question to ask when choosing curriculum: What do we want our children to become? If we translate this question into somewhat more operational questions, these would include: What do we want our children to come to *value*? What do we want them to be able to *feel and see and hear and smell and touch*? From what do we want them to learn to get pleasure? What do we want them to *understand about* themselves and the *world of nature and man*? How do we want them to *behave* toward *other human beings*? To what do we want them to be inclined to *commit themselves*? What technical *abilities* do we wish to *cultivate* in them?[4]

We are indebted to Professor Tumin for this expression of an approach and a point of view concerning our problem of planning curriculum for public education. In any reality context requiring the making of specific decisions for each of the questions it is necessary to confront the meaning of "we." There are many possible answers to the question "Who are we?" in both theory and practice. Some must be more appropriate than others in a pluralistic society committed, in theory at least, to democratic procedures and ideals.

Factors to be included in curriculum planning.

The selection of content (subject matter) long has been the dominant factor in curriculum planning almost to the point of the exclusion of other options. It is clear that the future will demand expansion of this conception of approaches and points of view. We propose that there are at least five factors to be included in curriculum planning and that a major problem is the achievement of appropriate balances among them.

The five proposed are:

- The learner and learning.

- The things that people do as individuals and as members of groups—human activities.
- The processes (procedures, operations, techniques) essential in doing the things that individuals and groups do.
- The subject matter—knowledge—facts—ideas—concepts necessary
- The settings and the situational factors.

Ways school learnings are used in modern life.

Broudy, Smith, and Burnett[5] have distinguished four typical uses of knowledge or school learnings. They are:

> *Replicative*—when we repeat an operation, in modern life, performed many times in school.
>
> *Associative*—when something we have learned comes to mind because it has something in common with what is before us.
>
> *Applicative*—when we apply knowledge to particular problems of practice, to solve a problem or to analyze a situation.
>
> *Interpretive*—when we use our school learnings to perceive, understand or feel life situations—this is primarily for orientation and perspective rather than for action and problem solving.

There are many ways to analyze the uses of school learnings in modern life. They should be explored and utilized in the processes of selecting and designing learning experiences to be included in curriculum plans for the future.

The three issues presented in this section regarding approaches and points of view for curriculum planning for the future are not mutually exclusive. In fact, various combinations of the three are possible and feasible. One method of contributing to the achievement of some integration of them is to develop answers for the question, "What kinds of subject matter (content-knowledge) are to be considered for inclusion in the curriculum?" We suggest that *remaining within the boundaries of the conventional subject matter fields is not adequate*. We think that one answer to the question that pays high dividends is that there are five "kinds" of content or subject matter. They are:

1. Concepts, laws, principles, generalizations, conclusions as presently developed by scholars, research and experience;
2. Processes, methods, procedures for developing the material described by No. 1 above;
3. Interpretations and applications of the material described by No. 1 above;
4. Processes, methods, procedures for interpreting and applying; and
5. What is not "known"—problems and issues.

The development of symbolic skills is essential to the achievement of ability to deal with all five of the kinds of content. "Facts" could well be included as a kind of content, but they change and are significant primarily as an integral part of each of the five presented.

Philip Phenix[6] has provided us with a monumental analysis of the nature of meaning including a mapping of the realms of meaning. He distinguishes six fundamental patterns of meaning that may well be related to any efforts to find answers to the question: What kinds of content?

As long ago as 1945, the Harvard report on general education proposed that a "much better justification of the way in which the areas of learning are divided is in terms of the methods of knowledge." The report also indicated that the abilities to be sought above all others are: (1) to think effectively; (2) to communicate thought; (3) to make relevant judgments; and (4) to discriminate among values.

Probable Scope of The Curriculum

In the past and in the present the scope of the curriculum is evidenced primarily by the list of subjects taught. The subjects were selected on the basis of moving toward admission to and success in college with some consideration of difficulty. Relevance to human activities at best came off second rate. In spite of the fact that increasing numbers of young people are entering college (and we need them) we propose that this conception of breadth and scope must be re-examined and that one result will be the expansion of the base for determining the scope of the curriculum.

Mark R. Shedd, Superintendent of Schools in Philadelphia, recently observed that:

> It is the passion and the power of humanity that we seek to explore and expand when we teach reading or math. If we divorce school subjects from the guts and hopes of human beings, we can expect students to find them gutless and hopeless. I intend to encourage attempts to make our schools relevant to the concerns of students. And I will continue to support teachers who are able to examine, in a mature way, the gut issues of our day—war, sex, race, drugs, poverty.[7]

Whether or not the inner logic or structure of subject matter fields and/or the direct study of human activities is the source from which the scope of the curriculum is derived, we are suggesting guidelines for use when approaching problems and decisions concerning the *total* scope of the curriculum for public education in the future. No significance is to be attached to the order of presentation.

The total scope of the curriculum will probably include materials and experiences designed to:

- Develop and use high levels of competence with the abilities required to learn, to communicate, to solve problems of many kinds, to make decisions, to be creative;

- Produce the attitudes and abilities required to relate effectively with other people of numerous types;
- Result in healthful living and appropriate physical activity;
- Explore and to develop the vast world of leisure time activities —individual and group;
- Contact, extensively, the area of occupational knowledge, interests, plans, and skills;
- Lead to creative approaches to individual and group life, including desires and abilities to enjoy the fine and practical arts;
- Increase self understanding;
- Make relevant judgments when using values in making choices;
- Produce functional understanding and exploration of the physical environment (including aesthetic dimensions); and
- Provide opportunities to move from dependence through independence to realistic degrees of interdependence and some "sense of community." The "sense of community" will require that each individual communicate with and care about other individuals who are "different."

The available evidence from many sources indicates that studying about, knowing about, and/or remembering does not always result in action. There really are four levels of the results of teaching-learning situations: (1) memory; (2) meaning; (3) significance; and (4) action. We have been too content to stop with the first level. The scope of teaching-learning situations in public education must move toward the inclusion of innumerable experiences with meaning, significance, and action.

Specific Proposals

The following eight specific proposals have been selected primarily for purposes of emphasis. The selections are based upon a review of the previous publications of *Designing Education for the Future,* our interpretations of the current scene and a strong sense of urgency concerning the "direction finding" dimensions of planning education programs for the future. The current period seems to us to be characterized by the acuteness of direction finding problems in public education programs.

Include research and development as an integral part of planning organizations and procedures.

There has been increasing interest in and discussion of the nature and roles of research and development in American education. Some planning and action have also been initiated. But these are still in the infant stage; they must be nurtured with care and brought rapidly to full maturity. The problems of planning educational programs are so numerous, complex, and crucial that it is absurd to proceed without heavy investments of time, creativity, money, and resources in extensive and intensive research and development activities. Some have proposed that one percent of educational budgets should be allocated to these functions. It is our judgment that this is too little and should be increased. How about five percent as a goal? It is hoped that the concept of "respectable" research will be expanded to include all points on the continuum from "pure" research, through solutions for "practical" problems, to bold creativity. New and old methodologies, including the quantitative and the qualitative, must be developed and utilized. More attention must be given to finding the "right" questions to research. Widespread exploration of the kinds of evidence acceptable as a basis for decision making is essential.

Freedom and support for schools and teachers to "innovate" must be built into the climate in which American education develops in the future. The generation of ideas is the prelude to the planning and designing of formal and informal research and development.

Two major problems confront us at the present time. One is the education and training of larger numbers of individuals with the attitudes, orientations, learning abilities and competencies required for large scale productiveness from research and development activities. This is not the exclusive task of teacher education or of the colleges and universities. State education agencies, intermediate or cooperative service units, and school districts have responsibilities as well as innumerable opportunities. The other problem has to do with control, structure, and organization. The school district and the school have become the action units in designing education. Yet, questions concerning "what is the 'operational unit for what?' " have not been faced realistically except for the general acceptance of the conclusion (legal and otherwise) that education is a "state function." True, there have been some regional activities, and the federal government has become involved in the realms of indicating goals and providing categorical financial support for numerous projects, but even these have not been clearly defined in terms of the operational "for what".

It is not proposed here that some means be devised for settling all of the questions concerning operational units. Rather, it is proposed that each state (in its own way) include careful consideration of the problem of "operational units for what?" as the needed arrangements are made for progress with research and development.

As action expands in research and development, it is crucial that relationships with schools be continuing ones. The designation and planning of pilot, laboratory or lighthouse schools can be utilized effectively.

Re-plan the social science program.

There are more than thirty (variously financed) major projects under way in the United States at the present time that are related in some way to designing the social science curriculum for public education. One reason for this is the extent and complexity as well as the cruciality of the area. There have been widespread confusions and many debates concerning goals, content, and methods. Numerous "camps" exist and more are developing. This does not seem to be the place to attempt an analysis of the projects or of the confusions and debates.

The dominant role of history in the education of teachers and in the public school curriculum is being challenged. Systematic attention is being attracted to several of the other social sciences. In fact, there are some reasons for thinking that a "social science oriented" curriculum may be discernable on the horizon. It is partially characterized by emphasis upon societies and human behavior, and by the search for regularities and irregularities in both. The label, "Behavioral Sciences" is heard and seen frequently. There is indefiniteness about the definition of boundaries but in common there is a relatedness to human behavior in context.[8]

The results to date of the curriculum projects in the social sciences suggest that bold innovation is feasible in developing a social science-oriented curriculum. The nature of the times and available predictions of the future speak loudly of the urgency for people to learn more than we now know about people relating themselves to each other.

Re-think the humanities.

It is well known that the emphasis during the past decade upon the development of the curriculum in mathematics and science has created strong challenging questions about the lack of attention to the humanities together with accusations of curriculum imbalances. The humanities have been lagging in acceptance and development. This is due in part to confusion and elusiveness concerning the meanings involved. The traditional concept probably is best characterized by the notion of polite learning in several areas such as poetry, literature, rhetoric, grammar, Latin and Greek classics, languages, philosophy and selected aspects of the arts. The debates about the appropriateness and results of studying these subjects have been around for a long time and probably will continue.[9]

An additional concept of the approach to the meanings involved that has been developing is to search directly for answers to the question, What does it mean to be *humane*? (this was the original spelling of the word). What is required to achieve varying degrees of humaneness? We suggest that the quests for answers to these questions should be assigned a top priority. We also suggest that the search must be related directly to current human activities as well as to the multiple dimensions of unsolved problems.

We are impressed with one illustration. Every man lives in and uses a complex physical environment. Surely, no one would contend that we have matured as individuals or groups in simple aesthetic bases for decisions and actions in this realm. It is possible, as well as urgent, for us to reorient our thinking about what it means to be humane to include many such dimensions of human activities in the present and in the future. Productive results will require tough-minded realism on both means and ends.

Make direct approaches to learning how to make decisions concerning the use of time.

Several signs of the times and predictions of the future indicate rapid movement toward a society that is more leisure oriented. The development of increased productivity per man hour continues. This means that people of all ages are and will be confronted with more and more problems of choices about the use of time. How does one learn how to make choices concerning the use of time? How can education contribute to or facilitate such learning? What is involved?

We suggest that any agenda for designing programs of education for the future must include the expenditure of competence, time and resources on the discovery and invention of alternative answers to the questions and problems of learning how to make choices about the use of time. One clue resides in increasing the number of opportunities that students have to make such choices together with awareness of satisfactions and dissatisfactions with consequences.

Extend the development of vocational and technical education.

There seem to be few questions about the need for action in vocational and technical education. The questions arise when we approach decisions concerning what action. We do not think that we have arrived at any "absolutes" in the formulation of bases for decision making in this area. In the life history of each individual (more so for some than for others) getting a job and earning a living are paramount. Bickner[10] has proposed examination of the concept that youth is the time for education and that paid work is not practical for children. He suggests that all students in the educational program of the future will be working and that classrooms studies and work experience will be closely interrelated.

Certainly, the relationship between work and education will become closer as we explore all of the alternatives and resources for extending vocational programs available to all age groups.

Increase the relative significance of health education.

The long history of reliance upon the process of academic additions to the curriculum as the principal curriculum planning operation has resulted in health education (except for physical education) practically escaping public education programs. The time is long past due for a thorough re-look at the needs and opportunities for health education programs which reach beyond knowledge of the basic sciences to healthful behavior.

Develop extensive programs of continuing education.

Every analysis of the present and every prediction of the future speaks for the necessity of learning opportunities for all age groups. The potentials are limited only by our imagination and willingness to expend resources.

Cooperative ventures between education and business and industry can be most appropriate.

Explore the instructional possibilities of computers, simulation, games, and programmed instruction.[11]

These relatively new developments have shown enough promise to warrant confidence in extensive exploration of their usefulness and appropriateness. The computer is expanding our capacity with the symbolic processes and may well render obsolete many current practices in educational programs.

In Conclusion

We are suggesting that the planning of educational programs for the future will seek to provide for:

- More direct planning for the totality of the curriculum for each individual and group with less reliance upon the "bit by bit" approaches and the building by parts or segments.
- More opportunities for the student to be the "individual in process" together with increased concern and tolerance for individual selective perceptions of relevance.
- More decisions based upon direct relationships and relevance to areas of human activity—individual and group.
- More process orientation in the selection of content and experiences.
- More freedom and facilities to innovate and to invent, and finally,
- The domination of planning operations by emphasis upon learning to learn—to unlearn—and to re-learn in school and throughout life.

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[1] Robert Hanvey, "Social Myth *vs.* Social Science," *Saturday Review,* November 18, 1967, pp. 80-81.

[2] Jeffrey K. Hadden, Louis H. Masotti and Calvin J. Larson, (eds.), *Metropolis in Crisis: Social and Political Perspectives* (Itasca, Illinois: Peacock Publishers, 1967).

[3] See Robert B. Howsam, "Problems, Procedures and Priorities in Designing Education for the Future" in *Cooperative Planning for Education in 1980* (Denver: Designing Education for the Future, 1968).

[4] Melvin Tumin, "Teaching in America," *Saturday Review,* October 21, 1967, p. 78.

[5] Harry S. Broudy, B. Othanel Smith, and Joe R. Burnett, *Democracy and Excellence in American Secondary Education* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1964). See especially Chapter III.

[6] See Philip Phenix, *Realms of Meaning: A Philosophy of the Curriculum for General Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964).

[7] *Saturday Review*, October 21, 1967, p. 74.

[8] See Francis A.J. Ianni, *Culture, System, and Behavior: The Behavioral Sciences and Education* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1967); and Robert G. Hanvey, *op. cit.*

[9] See Janice L. Gorn, "Are the Humanities Obsolete?" *Phi Delta Kappan*, January, 1968.

[10] Robert Beckner, "After the Future, What?" in Werner Z. Hirsch and Colleagues, *Inventing Education for the Future* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1967).

[11] Werner Z. Hirsch and Colleagues, *op. cit.*

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CHAPTER 2

Local Provisions For Education:

The Organization and Operation of School Systems and Schools

KEITH GOLDHAMMER*

There have been many changes in this country since schools and school systems (school districts) were established during pioneer days. Many of these changes—including industrialization, urbanization, the reduction of social and economic barriers, greatly improved transportation, and new insights and concepts regarding educational needs and contributions—have already resulted in important changes in schools and school systems. Educational programs have been broadened and significantly improved, most schools have increased in size, and separately organized elementary and secondary school districts are gradually disappearing, as have many small districts, simply because they can no longer meet the needs.

However, the evidence indicates that there are still many rural areas in which the provisions for education are notoriously inadequate in terms of modern needs, and (only recently recognized) many town, urban and suburban school systems that are failing to provide adequate programs of education for substantial numbers of children and adults.

Moreover, it seems clear that the next few years will bring even more serious and challenging problems for education throughout the nation. The cherished concept of local responsibility and control of education is already seriously challenged in some quarters, partly because it has been more of a myth than a reality in many communities. As one indication of the challenge facing education, one might well consider the fact that there are those who seriously advocate the transfer of many aspects of the education program from educational institutions to other agencies not of an educational nature.[1]** The increasing pace of change in many aspects of society will undoubtedly result in further challenges unless the program, organization and provisions for financing education can be improved to meet emerging needs. It seems evident that this situation will require careful studies and the best thinking, judgments and planning efforts of people in every state if it is to be satisfactorily resolved before the increasingly adverse conditions become even more serious.

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**Numbers refer to footnote references at end of Chapter 2.

There is considerable evidence indicating that the entire matter of what is meant by local responsibility and control needs to be reconsidered. One approach may be to attempt to determine, in light of prospective developments, what kinds of educational decisions can best and most meaningfully be made at the individual school level, at the level of the local school system, at the state level and at the national level—and what kind of organization will facilitate this decision making process. Perhaps the traditional organization and procedures will no longer suffice.

Observations such as the following seem pertinent:

- There must be better and more sophisticated planning for improving all aspects of education in every state and local school system in the future than in the past (which has been characterized in many areas by little or no bona fide planning).
- All proposals for changes should be based insofar as practicable on the findings of research studies rather than on "hunches". Every school system, therefore, will need a research and development program conducted by the system or by some appropriate agency.
- The fact that "the total community educates" will need to be kept in mind at all times. The formal educational program will need to be planned with due consideration of, and close relationship to, the other formal and informal agencies which have educational functions within the community.
- The implications of the evolving technology for individualization of instruction, the role of teachers and staff and even for the organization of schools and school systems will need serious attention.
- Much more attention will need to be given to ways of relating meaningfully the educational programs to benefits for students and for the community and of stating them in terms of the goals and resources required to achieve the goals.
- Alternate ways of organizing programs, staff, schools and school systems will need to be carefully explored to determine which will best meet the needs of the future.
- If "local control" is to become more than a myth and is even to survive, ways will need to be found to assure that local responsibility becomes increasingly meaningful through the provision of more adequate programs at a reasonable cost.

In this chapter, attention is given primarily to the evolution of school districts as a unique American experiment, to the internal organization of the school system, to the problems of local school districts, to local school districts for the future, and to internal school organization for the future.

The School District—A Unique American Experiment

In the United States the local school district was created to exercise governance over the schools within its jurisdiction. It arose out of the challenge of the environment to the values and aspirations of the people. The environment from which it emerged was the wilderness of the frontier with its dispersion and isolation of the population. The aspirations of the people involved an unyielding determination that their children be educated, at least sufficiently to read the basic religious works. The values of members of the community included a concern for the local governance of those institutions which were closest to them and a desire to be free from centralized control and the possible usurpations by remote governors or legislatures over various aspects of community life.[2]

The local school district was a subtle invention. It satisfied the need for the education of the children, the diffusion of literacy among the populations of the frontier, and the educational development of youth so at least a few could go beyond the rudiments of the common educational system to become the professionals and the leaders needed to create an independent American ethos. But even more than this, it satisfied the fierce and romantic individualism of the frontiersman, his inclinations to be subordinate to no one, and his intentions to be involved in decisions affecting his own religious, educational, personal or governmental affairs.

The local school district resulted in a decentralized educational system, the development of proprietary attitudes toward their schools by local citizens, and the diffusion of schools throughout the land, even in the most remote hamlets and isolated villages. Throughout the nineteenth century, few communities were organized without giving top priority to the erection of a schoolhouse and the employment of a teacher.

DEMANDS FOR CHANGE

The system of local control over the schools was well adapted to the needs of an independent, democratically-oriented rural community. However, increasing dislocations began to arise between the desire and ability of the people in many communities to support schools and the educational needs of the nation as the society became more complex, as highly urbanized settlements arose throughout the country, as the agricultural pursuits became mechanized and demanded fewer workers to maintain the economy, as transportation and communication systems decreased the isolation of the rural settlements, and as society became more industrialized with the concomitant demand for a more technically oriented and extensive education than could be provided in the rural schools.

The basic educational program established throughout the nation was essentially academic, providing the rudiments of a literary education to enable every child to read, write, and cipher, to prepare him both for participation in the governmental and commercial affairs of the community, and at the same time, to hold out for him the possibility of extending his education even beyond the high school. Increasingly, higher levels of educational attainment became necessary for entry into the technological job market. With the growing social humanitarianism, there was a recognition that many children, and especially the atypical, were not receiving an education commensurate with their needs. Local communities either lacked the necessary leadership or the will to make the adaptations which social, economic, and political changes in the total society demanded. Financial inability to support extended programs, the persistance of provincial points of view which held educational programs to a minimum, and even indifference and neglect of educational needs, resulted in a school system which was increasingly laggard in keeping pace with social requirements and in providing an educational program based upon up-to-date pedagogical science.

With the encouragement and support of farsighted citizens, educators on the state level began to attempt to secure the adaptations necessary for education to fulfill its responsibilities. Many citizens and federal officials recognized the need for extended opportunities for higher education and particularly for the scientific study of agriculture and technological fields. In response, Congress established grants to the states for more extensive higher educational facilities and particularly for those programs which changed the institutions of higher education throughout the country from a narrow concern for the preparation of an academic elite to an interest and concern for those courses which helped to develop the economy and emphasized a study of the social fabric of the nation with the view toward its improvement. Recognizing that schools were failing to provide the education essential for the burgeoning industrial economy, the federal government made various grants to stimulate the establishment of vocational-technical education, not only in the high schools but also in the colleges and universities.[3]

Studies of education began to reveal the indifference and neglect which resulted in an impoverishment of the educational program, the persistance of conditions within educational facilities which were hazardous both to the health and safety of children, the prevalence of low standards of preparation among teachers, and the maintenance of a curriculum which was oriented to the past rather than to the immediate needs of society and to its future development. Primarily through leadership which emerged on the state level, the sorry plight of education was brought to the attention of the public, and legislatures were encouraged to take the steps necessary to ameliorate the conditions and establish means through which state supervision over the public schools could be instituted to rectify inadequacies, to create a minimum curriculum to which all communities would have to conform, to protect the educational opportunities of all children, to provide subventions and assistance for the education of atypical children, to prescribe certification standards for teachers and administrators, and to establish controls to guarantee that the minimum standards and the basic program approved by the state would prevail throughout all of the schools within its jurisdiction.[4]

THE EMERGING PARTNERSHIP OF FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL AGENCIES

The concept that emerged was that the governance of education should not be exclusively the province of any one level of control. A system of checks and balances among the various levels of government emerged to guarantee that neither neglect and indifference nor the usurpation of the instruments of education to achieve the ends of a particular segment of society would prevail.

The federal government began to assume the responsibility for studying the general needs of education throughout the country in order to determine the major areas where adaptations and new programs were needed, and to provide the subventions necessary to stimulate states and localities both to improve their educational programs and to develop new programs to meet the changing requirements of society or to implement newer educational methods.

The state governments were given the responsibility for establishing the basic legal framework under which the educational program was to be managed, for providing the basic course of study to be included in all areas of the curriculum, for establishing the system of licensure, or certification, which would prescribe the minimum requirements for entry into the teaching profession as an insurance to the public against the malpractice of unqualified teachers, for developing the standards which individual school districts were to maintain if they were to remain accredited so the graduates of their high schools could enter college, and for providing standards and subventions for financial support.

To the local school district there remained the responsibilities for the operation of the schools, for the location and erection of schoolhouses, for determining the degree to which the local school program would be extended beyond the minimum essentials required by the state, and for the selection of qualified individuals to administer and to teach in the schools.

The legal framework of education thus established actually gave plenary powers to the state legislatures. In no instance did the state establish local school districts as constitutional entities whose boundaries were guaranteed and to which the local citizens had a proprietary right. The legislatures, in principle, maintained the right to abolish all school districts at their discretion, or to alter school district boundaries, or even to prescribe further the range of responsibilities and privileges exercised by local school boards. The local school districts were legally defined by the legislature as quasi-corporations, which could limit, extend, or even abolish these districts which were under its jurisdiction. Actually, because many of the school districts originally established by the people have proved to be hopelessly inadequate to meet modern needs, the number has been reduced during the past forty years, either by legislative pressure or local action, from 130,000 to fewer than 25,000.

Regardless of the principle, the local school districts have achieved and retained considerable political power. Few legislatures have dared to exercise their privilege to abolish school districts or even to alter boundaries without the consent of the local citizens. Legally a creature of the legislature, but practically extremely powerful because of the cult of local control, the school district remains the basic instrument of governance over the schools. The local school district today, in spite of federal and state controls, is still the key factor in achieving a healthy adaptability of the schools to changing conditions—or in maintaining traditional patterns in spite of outside pressure for change.

LOCAL CONTROL AND THE EDUCATIONAL PROFESSION

The continuation of the local school district results not only from the concern of local citizens for involvement in the governance of the schools but also from the interest of the educational profession in maintaining local control to protect their power over educational policies and programs. Without the cooperation of the professional educators, local citizens and school boards would not be able to maintain their control. School boards are currently greatly concerned about the militancy of professional organizations because such organizations now would limit the control of the school boards as representatives of the local citizenry. But, a coalition of school boards and professional educators has maintained the local patterns of governance both in the interest of each and against the further centralization of the educational system.

On the one hand, local control permits greater citizen involvement in educational decision making and policy formation. On the other hand, because school boards need the professional expertise of teachers and administrators, the educators, at least indirectly, exercise considerable control over school boards. The professional educators must operate the educational programs and define the degrees of tolerance for the adoption of new policies and programs. Centralized control would not only restrict the freedom of action of local school boards and citizens but would also result in the more complete bureaucratization of the professional educators who would no longer be free either to develop their unique local policies or to exercise control over educational programs. A review of the literature on local control might lead one to the conclusion that educators have been even more opposed to federal and state governmental intervention than local citizens. It is through a coalition of efforts by educators and local interests that the roles of both the federal and state governments have been narrowly limited. Continued resistance to an extension of the control on either level can be anticipated.

In a more positive vein, as one result of this coalition of local school boards and professional educators, the viability of the system of local control has been maintained. Important adaptations in programs and techniques of operation have been developed to meet needs in local communities. As another result of this coalition, the role of the state has undergone some modification in its orientation to the problems of education on the local level.

The Internal Organization of the School System

The basic pattern which prevails among school districts of the country is a rigid hierarchical organization in which authority flows from the top of the organizational chart through the various levels to the teacher-pupil relationship. Within statutory provisions, the school board is delegated final decisional authority over the schools. It exercises its authority through its professional administrators, who have the limited responsibility delegated or permitted them either by the statutes or by the school board. Since the administrators are full time and professionally skilled, while school board members are not, it is inevitable that they exercise considerable power and can generally have their way both with the school board and with the school organization itself.

Characteristically, teachers exercise considerable authority over children and in the selection of instructional materials and experiences, but even these are subject to control by their superiors. Few school systems have involved teachers consistently in all phases of educational governance. As a result, teachers have traditionally exercised whatever authority they have at the sufferance of their superiors.[5]

This rigid authoritarian structure for the governance of public education was tolerable at a time when society expected its officials to be strong, paternalistic rulers and when teachers were ill-prepared to assume professional responsibilities. As the citizens of our society have become better educated, their expectations for involvement in governmental decision making have become more intense, and as teachers have become better prepared and more professionally competent, they have increasingly resisted being treated as "hired hands." Both the culture of the emerging non-paternalistic society and of the professionally-oriented rather than the hierarchical school organization demand significant changes in how schools of the future are governed.

There are three basic levels of operations essential for all organizations. These have been defined as the institutional, the managerial, and the technical levels.[6] A brief description of each of the levels as they have come to exist within the public school organization is in order before considering future trends and possible future adaptations.

THE INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL

The institutional level of the organization (that is, the level at which legal responsibility rests) is the center of policy making authority and has as its central function the responsibility to relate the organization to the broader (and emerging) society of which it is a part and also to other social systems with which it is associated. The school system is a dependent social system in that it depends upon the broader society for various kinds of decisions which legitimate its functions and operational patterns. For example, it must obtain its resources from the broader society. The money available to the public schools must be obtained from legislatures, city councils, or directly by approval of the general public. Each of these agencies has the power to control not only the amount that it will provide but the purposes for which the funds may be spent. In other words, power over the school system is exercised by the broader society, and special agencies have been established to exercise control over the schools in behalf of the broader society.

The primary instrument for linking the local school system to the community is the school board. In principle, the school board has been established as the representative of the community to exercise, within statutory limits, power over the school system, presumably for the purpose of effecting the public will and protecting the public interest in the governance of the schools.[7] In part, the school board may be viewed as a control mechanism which represents the total community. In this connection it has several functions. One function is to maintain control over the programs of the schools to see that they are in accordance with state law and the interests and desires of the local community. A second function is to determine the legitimate resource needs of the schools and to attempt to meet these needs through its ability to influence either the citizens of the community or governmental agencies within it.

Dislocations often exist between the community and the operating personnel within the school organization. Consequently, it is a part of the function of the school board to represent the public and to define the limitations which should circumscribe the independent discretionary activities of professional employees. In effect, the school board is an instrument through which the community exercises at least minimum control over professional educators.

In practice, *the school board has serious limitations upon the degree to which it can exercise its stated or presumed functions. These limitations have important implications for the future of the patterns of local control and organization.*

Increasing Heterogeneity of Interests. American communities have undergone considerable change during the twentieth century. Along with the rapid urbanization of American society and the increased levels of educational attainment, there has also been a growing fragmentation of interests and values among the citizens of the community. In spite of the growing heterogeneity of interests, values and aspirations on the part of segments of the community, the power or influence structure of most communities has experienced comparatively little change. Consequently, the patterns of representation on the school board have not changed significantly. The dominant value system of the "middle class" still prevails in spite of the fact that it appears to be held by an increasingly smaller percentage of the population of the typical community.

Serious conflicts in interests and goals as well as in concerns about the basic patterns of governance and about the orientation of programs within the schools exist among various groups within the community.

Some of these maintain power over the instruments of governance while others seek to obtain roles of greater influence and power within the community. No longer can school boards assume that the interests which they represent are the interests of the entire community or that the schools will meet the needs of the community through a single set of objectives or value premises. The community is now diverse, and the school board cannot be presumed to represent the total community unless it includes members who understand or are associated with the different interest groups which comprise the community.

Growing Technical Complexity of Education. In recent years communities have experienced a growing technical complexity in the operation of the schools. This technical complexity has resulted in an increased dependence of the school board upon the professional knowledge, experience, and expertise of professional educators. School board members may come to their jobs with the intention of developing a particular program or of achieving certain goals, only to discover that the limitations within which they can operate are circumscribed by the prior knowledge and experience of the professional educators and by the circumstances under which programs of a similar nature have been found deficient in the past. Considering both the legal and the other knowledge bases upon which school boards must operate, they cannot be independent representatives of the local community; neither can they function adequately without the cooperation of their professional advisers and, particularly, without the professional competence of their executive officer—namely, the superintendent of schools.

Since the decisions which they make have professional implications, the school boards of the country have an increasing dependency upon professional educators who have knowledge of the law, the standards and requirements established by the state board of education and federal agencies, the research and knowledge upon which educational practices are established, and skill in the utilization of their knowledge to achieve concurrence among various groups who are closely associated with the schools. If the school boards get too far out of line in their demands for programs or policies which are at variance with professional experience and knowledge, they are sure to have to face the opposition not only of professional organizations of teachers and administrators but also of parent-teacher associations and other groups representing segments of the population that are closely connected with, if not dependent upon, the professional educators within the community. Obviously, as a result of the technical complexities related to the governance of schools today, school board members share their responsibilities with professional educators who provide the primary linkages between the technical level of the organization and the general public.[8]

Confusion Over the Proper Role of the Board. Another factor which limits the school board's fulfillment of its designated role results from the confusion of the degree to which the school board members are truly representatives of the public within the school organization or—

the reverse—are the representatives of the school organization to the public. There is evidence to suggest that there is a greater tendency for school boards to assume the role of *interpreters of the schools to the public* more than for them to assume the role of *representing the public to the schools.*[9] The schools occupy a visible role within one of the most sensitive arenas of community life. As a result of both the visibility and the sensitivity of its operations, any school system is an object that is easily attacked, particularly by groups who do not see their aspirations fully provided for in operating policies or practices. As members of the governing bodies of the schools, school board members are frequently the centers of attack by dissident or disaffected groups. Being thus placed on the defensive, they tend to accept the school as a primary reference group, the defense of which is essential for the protection of themselves and the principles for which they stand.

As a result of these barriers and the assumption of increasing responsibility on the part of professional educators to provide the linkages with the community, citizens frequently feel that, in spite of principles of local control, their voices in decision making within the school district have been muted. The evidence points to increasing feelings of alienation from the governing structure and to what they may consider an enforced non-involvement in critical decision making. One of the significant problems confronting the local school district today is the disparity between the principle of local control—which holds that citizen involvement is desirable for effecting adequate educational policies in the maintenance of the school system—and the sociological fact that the growing complexity of the problems of educational governance and the increasing size of the urban community make effective citizen involvement in technical details of the program more of a myth than a reality. The school district of the future will have to face realistically and resolve the problems of linkage with the community and of achieving congruence between the popular acceptance of governing principles and the actual practices which involve relationships between the internal school organization and the publics who are served by it. This problem will be discussed further in a subsequent section.

THE MANAGERIAL LEVEL

The managerial level is concerned with the implementation of the general policies of the organization, the establishment of uniform operating policies throughout the organization, and the maintenance of quality control through supervisory services and the provision of coordinating mechanisms. In the typical school district today, the managerial functions are carried on through a central office staff of varying size and complexity, depending largely upon the school enrollment.

In the smaller school districts, it is not uncommon for the central office staff to consist of a single school administrator—the superintendent of schools—with one or two clerical assistants to manage routine affairs for him. There are still school districts which have no administrators and in which the managerial responsibilities are performed both by a teacher—in addition to her regular instructional duties—and by the district clerk or treasurer who is not a professional educator. Other school districts are sufficiently small that the one professional administrator may teach courses in addition to his administrative duties. States in which there are a larger number of such school districts have usually given some or many of the managerial responsibilities to a county superintendent of schools who is generally elected by the public but serves to some extent as an arm of the state department of education to collect information, enforce state laws, and supervise the teachers in the small school districts.

At the other end of the continuum are the large, metropolitan school districts, a few of which have more than a million students. In these districts a complex administrative bureaucracy has been established, and the diverse functions of the district are under the authority of specialists who are in charge of specific programs and may have little or no connection with other programs except as they relate to their areas of specialization. Safeguarded by tenure or civil service regulations, the bureaucracy has the ability to protect itself and exercise considerable power over internal school affairs, particularly with respect to the adaptability of the school system.

In the middle is found a range of school districts, enrolling from a few thousand to several hundred thousand pupils. In the smaller districts, the managerial personnel comprise the superintendent, a few specialized supervisors, and the principals of the various attendance centers. Characteristically, these schools are administratively understaffed, so that personnel can perform little more than routine managerial chores designed primarily to maintain the operations rather than to improve instructional programs or adapt the total organization to changing societal needs.

Functions. Basically, four major functions should be expected of the managerial level. First, it should provide the over-all *direction* of the school organization in accordance with state laws and regulations and the policies established by the school board.

Second, it should provide for the *coordination* of activities and programs in order to maintain adequate functions with the requisite efficiency and economy of resource utilization.

Third, it should provide for the continuous and specialized *evaluation* of all phases of the school system, determining points of strength which need to be maintained and areas of weaknesses or inadequacies which need to be improved.

Fourth, to implement the results of the evaluation process, the managerial personnel should include specialists in *planning* and *development*. Planning and development, based upon the evaluation of needs, provides the basis for both the maintenance of efficient and effective programs and the identification of those which are not functional and should be changed. These functions, as well, provide for the adaptability of the school system both to the changing needs of society and to the improved scientific and technological bases upon which the educational program depends.

Major Problems. There are many problems associated with the operation of the managerial level in school districts today. Before adequate managerial functions can be provided in the school system, several popular myths about education and about management have to be dispelled.

In public organizations, management is looked upon by many almost exclusively as overhead, contributing little, if anything, to the functionality of the enterprise. There is also the concept that if the teacher is left alone in the classroom with the children, the essential tasks of education will be performed. Some feel that managerial personnel will subvert the teacher's time for non-instructional chores, thus reducing the ability of the teacher to devote his time to children's instructional needs. Moreover, there is a myth that control is the primary responsibility of management, and that it can be maintained primarily through regulations and rules with as few personnel as possible.

Space does not permit the presentation of all of the information needed to dispel these myths. The evidence strongly suggests, however, that *management in educational organizations is the key instrumentality for maintaining the adaptability of the school programs and procedures,* that *proper supervision is the chief means for the maintenance and improvement of instructional excellence,* and that *evaluation and planning do not take place within schools unless there are managerial personnel who are directly allocated the responsibilities for performing such functions.*[10]

Managerial personnel appear, to a considerable extent, to be poorly prepared and inadequately screened for performing the functions which should be expected of them. Administrative preparatory programs appear still to be adapted primarily to the needs of small school systems rather than to the specialized, technical requirements of larger organizations. Administrative functions continue to be considered as those which had to be performed when administrators were responsible for the total operations of the schools rather than for specific, fragmentized particles of it. Individuals are appointed to administrative and supervisory positions and are promoted up the hierarchical ladder for political and personality factors at least as frequently as for their demonstration of professional and technical competency. As a result, administrators learn on the job, if at all, the technical skills required of them and, inevitably, they become socialized to the traditional limitations of the school organization. The culture of the schools and community encourages them not to "rock the boat!"

Few school districts today employ an adequate number of administrators and supervisors to perform satisfactorily the services that are needed. Consequently, administrators are burdened with routine managerial chores which usurp their major time and energies. Since they are also best prepared to perform such chores, some of their most important functions are neglected. They spend their time directing, coordinating, and supervising, but find little opportunity, even if they have the inclination, for the essential evaluative and planning activities which should be characteristic of a sound educational organization. Few school systems in the country make provision for the continuous, scientific or systematic evaluation of their programs and accomplishments. As a result, most school districts which have some programs for introducing educational innovations into their curricula do so on the basis of generalized understanding of the possibilities of such innovations rather than because they have identified specific deficiencies which such innovations will correct. Planning tends to be haphazard and often considered an "after-hours" responsibility of personnel. Generally, if planning departments are maintained, they concentrate their attention upon the selection of sites and the supervising of building construction and maintenance.

It is for these reasons that the educational bureaucracies have frequently directed their energies toward the maintenance of the *status quo* rather than to stimulating the adaptive functions which would keep the schools up-to-date with respect to both social needs and the current state of the educational technology. The major criticisms of local control stem from the fact that the use of management has been toward control and direction rather than adaptability. *If local control is to persist and become more meaningful, the major functions of administration will have to be re-oriented toward the evaluative and planning functions.* New administrative roles will have to be created and, at the same time, existing roles will need to be examined and new definitions of responsibilities developed. Administrative personnel should be prepared to perform the highly specialized roles necessitated by the technical concerns of the schools rather than selected because of their ability primarily to serve the maintenance needs of the school district and the existing power structures of the schools and the community.

THE TECHNICAL LEVEL

The technical level of the organization is responsible for performing those basic and essential tasks for which the school district is established—that is, providing the instructional programs and supportive services pertaining thereto. The technical level applies to the programs in the individual school buildings or attendance centers. The key personnel on this level are the principals and the teachers. Other personnel on this level involve the instructional, clerical, and auxiliary service personnel who provide direct services to students.

Typically, attendance centers are divided into levels based upon a specific age-range of pupils and dispersed geographically throughout the community. Elementary schools are the smallest in size and, of course, the most numerous. They are generally organized to serve the neighborhoods in which the children live. The secondary school facilities, comprising junior and senior high schools, are larger, serving a number of sub-communities or elementary school attendance centers. Presumably, as well as in actual fact in the majority of instances, elementary schools serve a fairly homogeneous sub-community, although, as one looks at the pattern of attendance boundaries, one has the impression that boundaries have sometimes been gerrymandered to attain this homogeneity. Since residential segregation based upon social class is an almost inevitable factor of community life, elementary schools tend also to be segregated, and in the metropolitan districts, the patterns of residential segregation have relevance to the problems of racial and minority group segregation as well. Except for the small communities which are served by single secondary school units, this segregation tends to some extent to carry over from the elementary school attendance units.

Although there are numerous variations from the basic pattern, the typical community is served by elementary schools with grades kindergarten through six, junior high schools with grades seven, eight and nine, and senior high schools with grades ten, eleven, and twelve. Community or junior college programs emerged as an extension of the high school through grades thirteen and fourteen, but there is a growing realization that the community college program is more than an extension of high school. Many believe it should be treated as an educational institution and program separate from the public elementary and secondary schools. Community colleges, consequently, are increasingly administered by a governmental unit other than the public school district, and serve a geographical area much larger than the typical school district.

The problems of the structure and governance of community colleges and higher education present unique complexities, and a discussion of them in detail is beyond the scope of this chapter. That the total educational system is interrelated in spite of independent governing structures among its parts cannot be disputed. Undoubtedly, greater coordination should exist and must certainly be achieved in the future. Several patterns both of independent governance and coordination exist in the country. Some states have unified boards which deal with all levels of education, and others have separate state boards for each level. Some states classify community colleges along with public elementary and secondary schools, and others incorporate them with the governance of higher education. Although increasingly independent, some community colleges are a part of metropolitan school districts. The pros and cons of various patterns have been vigorously debated, and all need careful study to determine which pattern may eventually be employed to best serve the educational needs of our youth with the greatest efficiency and economy.

Equality of Educational Opportunities. There are vast differences in the nature of operating school units, the populations they serve, the services they render, and the programs they provide. The elementary school, for example, in the isolated and sparsely populated reaches of the

Western states is a far cry from the elementary school in the plush suburban community of the metropolitan center. In spite of the recognized diversity and complexity of services which are needed today to educate the child and provide for his developmental needs, there are thousands of school districts where the instructional staff consists exclusively of a principal and a few teachers. Specialized and technical services to meet a range of pupil needs are either unavailable or provided on such a limited basis as to be relatively useless.[11]

Although scientific investigation has long identified the range of differences among children and the diversity of conditions that facilitate or impede learning and growth, and although educators have developed instructional and therapeutic systems to provide for the learning needs of all children and youth, school districts have been so organized that most of them can neither support nor use effectively the range of services which children need. *The equality of educational opportunity today does not mean the same program or the same resources available to all children, but entails the provisions of specialized, well-prepared and competent personnel to provide for the unique needs of children in accordance with their particular problems.*

In recognition of these problems, states have adopted one or both of two major types of programs designed either to change the organization of school districts or to provide a means for supplementing the services which are available on the local level. Many states have undertaken aggressive programs of school district reorganization, the objective of which is to establish educational jurisdictions which are large enough to provide for the complete range of services needed adequately to serve their children and youth. Although much has been accomplished through this mechanism, there is a considerable way to go before all of the objectives or reorganization are obtained.[12]

Intermediate Units. A second device that has been developed to supplement the inadequacies of small school districts is either the reconstitution of the county superintendent's office as an intermediate educational district or the development of a new agency combining several districts for the purpose of providing cooperative services to them without changing the nature of the school district itself. These agencies may serve more or less than a whole county. The consortiums of school districts under Title III of ESEA for developing innovative and exemplary programs are examples of types of innovations taking place to combine resources and to provide improved programs and services. Intermediate units may be organized so as to have independent governmental functions. They may provide to school districts services paid for by funds derived through their own taxing power, as any other governmental agency, or they may have no taxing power of their own but merely obtain resources through contractual relations with cooperating school districts. In some instances they are established solely as informal relationships among legally independent school districts. They may serve all of the school districts of the area or only the smaller and less financially adequate school districts.

Intermediate school units usually have served small school districts well in extending the range of services and programs available to children in their home districts. They have been less adequate in serving the needs of the larger schools, which in many instances have the resources and the population necessary for providing their own services exclusively for the children of their district.

The persistence of popular election of county superintendents and of the traditional roles and functions of the county school office has been a serious barrier to the development of adequate intermediate units in some states. The old style county office is an anachronism. Although it served a function in a predominantly rural society when transportation and communication were difficult, today it is an impediment rather than an asset to the effective use of scarce resources for educational purposes.

Since economic, social, and population currents move unevenly over the country, desirable patterns of educational development are not necessarily similar. Consequently some areas of the country are just emerging into organizational patterns where the intermediate unit has a significant role to play, while in other areas the legally established intermediate unit as a viable instrument for continuous school improvement may be questioned. Where school districts have been reorganized into unified school jurisdictions of sufficient size to provide for the range of services required for effective instruction of all children, the continued existence of the intermediate unit may be challenged. Consortiums of school districts for specific purposes and services, involving even large metropolitan centers and governed by local school jurisdictions, may be more appropriate. But, in states which have been slow to reorganize or where the population is still sparse, a present concern for the educational welfare and opportunities of all children makes the proper development of intermediate education units seem logical.

The Metropolitan Areas. Although there is a tendency to emphasize the problems of small districts in providing the range of services needed by their children, the larger, more complex, more cumbersome city school district is not without its problems. Large scale organizations inevitably tend to become cumbersome bureaucracies. Authority systems have to be established; responsibilities have to be fragmented; control has to be maintained; rules and regulations have to be provided; and systems of allocations have to be developed to assure some fairness in the distribution of resources. Maintenance of the bureaucracy sometimes becomes a more vital criterion for the establishment of patterns of operation than the educational welfare of children and the idiosyncratic plans and proposals of classroom teachers.

The large city school systems were at one time the innovative centers in education. Many of them were on the cutting edge of new programs, and smaller districts assiduously emulated their advances. This is no longer so frequently the case. Personnel become entrenched in the bureaucracy, and programs, once they have "jelled," tend to become institutionalized. Since authority characteristically flows from the top down and since the innovative teacher or principal is sometimes the one who is disturbing the equilibrium by "rocking the boat," it is frequently difficult to obtain authorization to change or to experiment. Because resources have to be "equitably" distributed, the unique needs of one unit can rarely be given special consideration. Federal subventions to large school districts have given them an opportunity to begin to refurbish their neglected image. Under various projects, they have the potential to reappraise existing programs and provisions for applications of resources. As a consequence, they have the opportunity to make adaptations to the unique needs of individual neighborhoods and attendance units and possibly to utilize federal funds more creatively than they could local tax monies.

The Operating Unit and Decision Making. The further the operating unit is removed from the decision making process, the more rigid the authoritative structure of the school, the less involvement of teachers and principals in educational planning, the greater the distance of the parents and citizens tends to be from the control mechanisms of the school district. The greater, as well, will be the tendency of the school district to maintain the *status quo,* to discourage new ideas, and to maintain equilibrium at the expense of adaptability.

The essential decisions to provide adequate instruction of children are made within the technical level of the school organization. The advanced preparation of principals and teachers in recent years would indicate a growing capability of personnel on this level to make the appropriate decisions. The basic structure of the local school district is so constituted as to restrict the involvement of teachers and principals and to reduce the latitude available to personnel in attendance centers to make adaptations and establish policies to meet the unique requirements of the individual neighborhood. In the years ahead, a balance should be established between the responsibilities and authority of the central agency and of the individual attendance center.*

A further complication exists in the involvement of parents and citizens in the decision making process. As was earlier suggested, many citizens feel that they have difficulty in participating in the governance of the schools. They are increasingly remote from the deliberations of the central authority. Yet, they can and do maintain face-to-face relationships with personnel in local attendance centers. In spite of this, their activities within the local school tend to be social rather than governmental. It may be possible that, as some decisions are decentralized to the local attendance area, more effective citizen participation can also be provided on that level.

The Problems of the Local School District

The above discussion is designed to provide some perspective on the problems of the local school district organization—problems which must be solved if education is to meet the realistic challenges of the present and future. If the fundamental purpose for maintaining local control over education has been to facilitate the adaptability of educational institutions to specific local needs, the system has not achieved its goals. Without the intervention of the federal government—and recently of a few state governments—to provide subventions to encourage school districts to develop programs to ameliorate social problems and direct their efforts toward the improvement of instructional systems, many districts would probably not have made very significant progress in these areas. It is likely that without strong endeavors on the part of state departments of education in some states, the indifference and neglect which Horace Mann revealed in the nineteenth century might be more prevalent than is generally true today. *The local school district is generally on the defensive today because of its failures. It is challenged by the new federal programs, by the possible increasing strength and control of state departments of education, by the magnitude of social problems which can be resolved only by education, and by the technological changes in our society which demand higher levels of educational attainment by youth preparatory to entrance upon the job market.* To meet these challenges, local school districts must solve certain basic problems.

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*See discussion of Model B, pp. 100-103, as an illustration of how this may be accomplished.

PROVIDING ADEQUATE OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDENTS

Every child must have an opportunity to participate in the kind of educational programs that enable him to develop his potential as a productive, contributing, self-respecting member of society. This means that he must be able to attend school in a district which provides both the range of educational programs and the variety of special services that are required to promote his development, arouse his interests in a specific field of endeavor, and assist him to overcome any handicaps or incapacities which he may have. If the school district cannot provide for the range of instructional and special service facilities required, then it must become a part of a larger unit that can provide such services to schools or sub-units within its jurisdiction.

CONSIDERATION FOR MINORITY GROUPS

It is apparent that the *local school districts have tended to be the captives of a particular group or class of society and are not always responsive to the desires and needs of minority groups within the community.* Our contemporary ethos points to increasing citizen involvement in the agencies of local government to assure that they have a voice in the formation of policies. To date, they have found more response to their demands and needs in both the federal and state governments than in any of the local governments. Under the circumstances, unless local school districts can develop the means through which more effective citizen participation in their schools can be achieved, those citizens who are muted in their demands to be heard and considered are likely to join together to place responsibility in the hands of those agencies which appear to be most likely to respond to their needs and aspirations.

RESOLVING CONFLICTING INTERESTS

From the point of view of teachers in the school system, *the pattern of governance of the school district has subordinated them to the lowest rung of the school hierarchy*. Their participation in most situations has been through petition and by virtue of the sufferance of school board members, citizens of the community, and their school administrators. The increasing levels of professional preparation of teachers and their demands to be involved in decision making affecting their interests and the way they perform their services indicate that *the patronizing attitudes of school board members and administrators toward teachers can no longer be tolerated.*

On the one hand, if school boards and administrators fail to recognize and provide for effective teacher participation, militant action on the part of organized teacher groups will result in serious blocks to the effective operation of the schools. On the other, if school boards and administrators completely abrogate their responsibilities, both to the public and to the interests and needs of children, the demands of the teaching profession can result in the formulation of policies to suit the convenience and profit of teachers. The school district would then become increasingly less responsive to the public interest, less adaptable to changing educational requirements, and, consequently, less concerned for the welfare of children.

Assuredly, a major problem for local school districts is to develop the policies and procedures through which a balance is achieved between professional responsibility for decision making relative to the instructional program and services to students, professional involvement in those decisions affecting welfare and conditions of work, and responsiveness to the interests, desires, and requirements of the community. The school board and administrators confront a serious dilemma in this regard. Faced with a better educated public than ever before, as well as a better prepared teaching profession, the policy makers for the schools are often called upon to respond to conflicting or at least not entirely compatible demands. To find the means through which they can achieve both movement and stability in the face of such a dilemma is a problem of no small magnitude.

DEVELOPING A STRUCTURE TO FACILITATE CHANGE

Through the coalition of educators and school board members *a bureaucratic structure has been established which can be, and generally is, highly resistant to change*. Innovation and experimentation are rewarded neither by the authority structure of the schools nor by the educational establishment itself. As teachers mature in a restrictive atmosphere, they soon learn that it is better to generate as few new ideas as possible and to resist those few innovators present in any organization who challenge the *status quo*.

Those school districts which are innovative, and those administrators who promote experimentation and trial with new methods and programs, are constantly endangered both by community movements to "return to the fundamentals" and by the hostility or reluctance of groups of teachers.

In education, innovative leaders are mobile. Once they meet great resistance to their ideas, they tend to move to other systems. One is led to believe that after a time a small percentage find a place to settle in a truly innovative system, but much larger percentages either become socialized to the imperatives of the *status quo* or leave teaching altogether. As a consequence, the structure of the organization frequently becomes an inflexible, resistant, institutionalized barrier to effective adaptation.

It is a part of the popular culture to complain about the tendencies for bureaucratic structures to become inflexible and to tend to perpetuate the routine rituals which prevent their serving the needs of a changing society. But bureaucratic structures are essential to a large-scale organization or a mass society. *It is not necessarily the inherent nature of the structure which is at fault as much as it is the failure of the people within the structure to establish the reward systems which encourage innovation and provide the motivations for maintaining adaptability.* If the large school systems are to become innovative leaders in education—which they alone have the massive resources to become—they must seek the means through which the bureaucracy can be reconstituted to become a force for the promotion rather than for the retardation of change. *Such elements as the positional tenure systems of large organizations, the tendency to "kick incompetents upstairs," excessive centralization of decision making, the use of political rather than professional criteria for promotions, the rigidity of resource allocation systems—all must be re-examined to determine their effect upon the viability of the school system, the manner in which they encourage the creative use of professional intelligence and experience, and the degree to which they provide for a healthy adaptive momentum.*

REAPPRAISING THE ROLE OF KEY PERSONNEL

Probably one of the most important problems that must be solved before the school bureaucracy can be reconstituted as a facilitative structure is that of *evaluating the roles of key positions within the organization to determine the extent to which they can adequately serve the type of organization the local school district must become.* What is expected of an assistant superintendent of schools in charge of curriculum? What should be the relationship of a supervisor to a principal? What types of data does a research office need to help teachers identify instructional deficiencies and provide new learning experiences to overcome them? What staff departments are needed in the central office?

The simple fact is that educational organizations have developed neither the structure nor the role definitions of functionaries uniquely suited to the needs of an educational organization.[13] Administrative offices and chains of command have been patterned after military, ecclesiastical, or proprietary business and industrial models, where centralization of command or direction is possibly more desirable or imperative than in the educational organization. Although the matter has never been scientifically explored, the school organization and the definition of administrative and supervisory roles within it appear more likely designed to maintain a rigid conformity than to stimulate and encourage the exercise of independent professional judgment.[14] Presumably, the answer to the problem must lie both in the restructuring of the relationships and expectations of existing officers and in the creation of new roles within the organization which can become the locus for the adaptive mechanisms which are needed.

If the central focus of schools is upon meeting the changing educational needs of children and youth in an evolving society, then one might well ask where the evaluative services are centered in a school organization rather than who directs elementary education. It is more important to have a centralization of planning activities than a supervisory system that controls the use of instructional materials throughout the system. A contemporary school district needs an agency that helps to direct attention to the implications of research and new knowledge for the instructional program and constantly revitalizes the organization with fresh information and data about new instructional systems which are in process of development and under evaluation throughout the country. There is a need for a research arm or facility available to a district which will help planners and implementers to determine the effects of new types of instructional interventions upon the facility with which instructional objectives are achieved. In addition to the recruitment, placement, and evaluation of employees, the personnel department has to be geared to the problems of "re-tooling" personnel for building the understandings and competencies requisite for implementing the new educational technologies.

Perhaps instead of a cabinet which centralizes control, the superintendent needs a board of strategy to determine when, how, and with whom new educational practices will be tried. Certainly, the functions of the public relations departments need to be re-examined to determine the extent to which information about community needs and aspirations can become a part of the data with which teachers and administrators evaluate their instructional practices to determine whether or not educators are exercising their custodial responsibilities over the schools and are responsive to the need and aspirations of the public. *Not the least of the problems which school districts must solve revolve around obtaining educational personnel who can meet their new requirements and fill the new roles. Somehow, the colleges and universities which have control over the preparatory programs must be brought into the picture, for their resources, too, must be adapted to the practical needs of local school systems.*

More Emphasis on Planning and Evaluation

Special emphasis must be placed upon the planning and evaluation functions within the school system, although these areas of concern are implicit in all other problems which the school district has to face. Typically, when planning functions are discussed, there is a tendency to think about "school plant planning." The proper location and construction of school buildings and the development of the proper educational specifications for new plants are important but do not by any means constitute the whole picture of the planning needs of school districts. Few school districts are large enough to have complete planning programs, or—as a necessary adjunct to the planning process—the specialized resources which are essential for maintaining systematic evaluation of programs and the identification of needs. *Haphazard or unsystematic planning and evaluation are likely to lead to the employment of resources to achieve ends which are only peripheral to the central needs of children.* Likewise, they may result in providing temporary expedients for rectifying inadequacies rather than providing the systems that will result in needed dynamic new thrusts. Although planning and evaluation tend to pose threats to educational personnel and to the stability of the school system, they are essential components of both organizational and instructional adaptability if central and key problems are to be attacked.

Most local school systems are not large enough to develop their own planning and evaluation services on an extensive enough basis unless they comprise a total metropolitan area. Accordingly, we must look realistically at the problems of evaluation and planning for a total population as well as for segments of it. Can the city of Denver, for example, realistically plan for the educational needs of the future without incorporating into the planning process the suburban communities around it? Population moves back and forth between the central city and the suburban areas. The satellite communities not only must use the services and facilities of the central city, but the city frequently is also the seat of their employment and the future employment of their children. It provides the economic life-blood, due primarily to the concentration of industry and commercial enterprise, which constitutes the basis of support for education as well as for other governmental functions throughout the area.

A suburban or rural community with 5,000 students cannot be viewed as an adequate planning entity if it is divorced from the planning and evaluation that will take place within the larger sociological entity of which it is a part. *A local school system that has full authority to reject or accept the plans developed by a larger or more centralized agency may satisfy local pride and feelings of independence, but it is not likely to meet the needs of the local children and youth nor of the total society.*

How to facilitate over-all developmental planning while still maintaining enough local initiative and responsibility to adjust to unique needs and aspirations is a problem of no little magnitude. Perhaps this is a problem which the intermediate or more comprehensive district will have to solve. In metropolitan areas, this situation may require formal establishment of a metropolitan educational planning agency, or it may call for the state to create within various localities consortiums of school districts somewhat similar to some of the present Title III structures. The problem may even call for a new conceptualization of the structure of local involvement in educational decision making and of what should be the locus of authority over the educational enterprise.

Although all of these problems relate to planning, they indicate the nature of the problems of evaluation which must also be resolved. *Evaluation implies a search for determining as objectively and systematically as possible not only how well the schools are doing what they are consciously setting about to do, but also how well they are doing that which society expects and needs for them to do,* regardless of whether citizens generally recognize the needs. Evaluation, in other words, must look at the internal organization and its programs as well as at the relationship of the internal structure and programs to the world about them. Aspects of the evaluative process must necessarily involve school attendance centers, groups of schools which constitute the paths through which children progress from one educational level to another, the entire school district—and even beyond the district to the region, the state and the nation. In general, local school districts have been highly resistant to proposals for state or national assessment programs. If they are to deal realistically with the problems of evaluation, the local districts must come up with a structure which helps them to identify both their accomplishments in terms of needs which must be met, and their contributions to the local, state, and national welfares.

PROCURING NECESSARY RESOURCES

Not the least of the concerns of the local school district is that of procuring the resources necessary to perform its functions effectively. *The tax structures of most states have been devised to make it difficult for local governing bodies to finance themselves.* The structures have been distressingly successful toward this end, at least in education. There is scarcely a tax program in the country that makes it feasible for a school district to obtain the financial means to provide educational programs consistent with the needs of the community—regardless of how small or large—without dissipating an enormous amount of its energy upon resource procurement. The problems become increasingly complex in light of the fact that the taxing power of the federal government is largely remote from popular control and that few states have developed realistic finance programs. As a consequence, the publics can express their dissatisfaction with increased taxes most readily by demonstrating their reluctance to provide the revenues needed by local agencies which best serve the most immediate needs of the people.

It would be foolhardy to suggest that the problems of local adaptability of school districts can be solved apart from the financial problems of the schools. It is certainly true that, through proper planning and evaluation, funds now available can be better spent. Initially, however, the addition of adequate planning and evaluation agencies within and among school systems will require considerable money. The end results of such planning and evaluation will, without question, identify needs which cannot be met without additional financial support. Such identification of needs has been made, in a general way, by the federal government, but often only after problems have reached crisis proportions. *The costs of amelioration have been much greater than would have been the costs of prevention.*

Thus far, the attempted solution has been federal subventions with increasing federal control, both incipiently and actually. If the federal government is called upon to do the major planning and assessment, as well as the forecasting of future needs, it might well undertake to develop the programs required to provide for those needs other than on a crash basis. *We can anticipate that the federal, state, and local balance needed to support education and to demonstrate responsibility toward the educational requirements of this country will have to be worked out internally within each state, or—in default—the nation will have no other alternative than, eventually, to take over the educational system.*

Local School Districts for the Future

There are some critics of the local school districts who maintain that the present pattern of governance over the schools is obsolete. They point out that the present system may have been appropriate during the time when most of the people lived in rural communities where systems of communication and transportation were slow and primitive. Today—with rapid air travel, helicopter service, freeways, direct long-distance dialing, and wide area telephone service—a central authority can be in immediate communication with any part of the state or nation. Within a matter of a few hours, state and local officials can be in face-to-face contact. Critics of the traditionally accepted system of school district organization can cite the case of Hawaii, where a state school system has not been seriously deficient in relating to the needs of the communities within the state, even though recently it has had to face many problems of adopting programs to local requirements. But the problems of Hawaii, in this regard, are no more serious or intense than the problems of other states which have numerous school districts, many of which make no adaptations to their own unique requirements.

Regardless of these arguments, it is unlikely that within the immediate future the public will yield to pressures for the abolition of local school districts. There are many reasons why they should not. The basic problem is to create the legal structure through which each local school district can become more effective. One objective should be to acquire a better balance between central and local control in order to assure at least enough uniformity to facilitate the free movement of children between school systems and to maximize the opportunities for adaptations to meet the situational requirements of each locality.

It is possible, of course, to maintain the structure as it is with relatively insignificant modifications. To do so, however, increases the hazard that local school districts may continue to neglect their responsibilities for making those fundamental adjustments in the educational program that are so vital to the national welfare that the federal government may find it necessary to take over the control of education as a matter of national interest.

In the pages which follow, five possible modifications of the governmental structure of education are suggested. These modifications are presented as generalized models rather than as specific applications to concrete situations. They bring out some of the essential problems with which states must be concerned if they are seriously interested in developing a system of governance that facilitates local responsibility and control that is responsive to educational needs as well as local interests and aspirations. The models, and the charts which illustrate them, are schematic to show structural relationships and not the operating or administrative details.

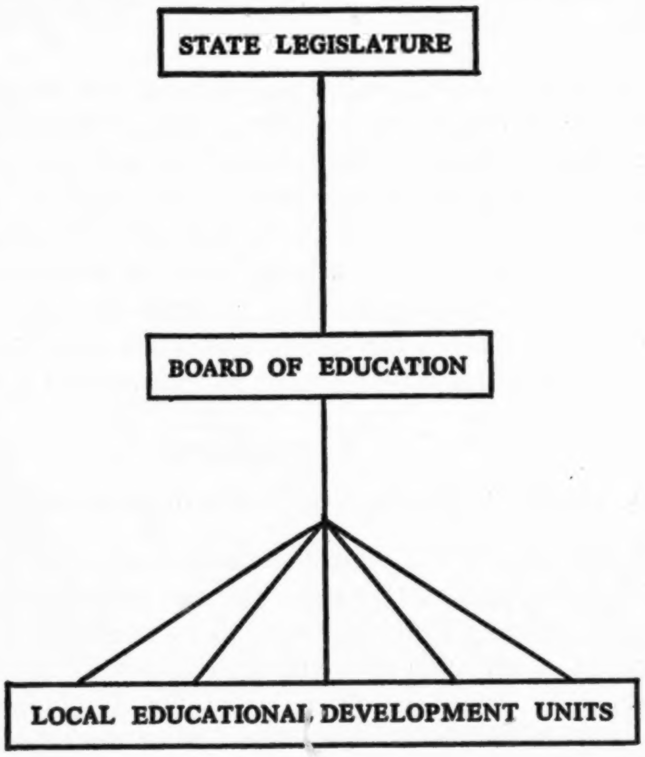
MODEL A—A STATE OPERATED EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Model A would require the state to organize and operate all schools. (See Figure 1). It is designed to concentrate responsibility for educational policy making (in keeping with basic policies established for the organization and operation of all schools by the legislature) in the state board of education. Instead of being merely a board for developing the general policies, rules and regulations for the operation of the schools, this board would become the actual operating agency for the schools within the state. Its executive officer would be the state superintendent of public instruction, and its executive arm would be the state department of education. The state board of education would derive its authority from the legislature, and would have essentially the same authority for governance of the schools as local boards now have. In effect, all local administrators, teachers, and other school district personnel would be employees of the state who are assigned to the localities. The state board would appoint personnel, determine salary schedules and prescribe criteria for allocation of resources to the specific attendance areas. In effect, this is the model followed in Hawaii and in each of the states of Australia.

The system for the selection of state school board members would probably be a matter of considerable controversy. The pros and cons of various electoral or appointive systems for obtaining a state board are the concern of Chapter 3 and will not be presented here. In any event, the basic patterns of operation of this structure would not vary significantly regardless of how the members of the state board of education were selected.

Some Potential Advantages. This system of governance of the schools would make easier the achievement of certain objectives but would tend to de-emphasize others. For example, it would facilitate a complete equalization of educational costs and programs throughout the

Figure 1. *A State Organization for Elementary and Secondary Schools Under a Single Board*



state. Theoretically there would be no necessity for the authorization of local levies for education since the total level of support would be determined by the legislature and state board and spread evenly over the state. In theory, at least, educational programs would be equated since the state would have to establish certain formulas or bases upon which programs, personnel, material and capital resources would be allocated to the various sub-units of the school system. Variations desired by local units would not be possible unless the citizens of a local school area were authorized to exercise the power to levy taxes to supplement the program provided by the state. However, such a plan would contradict the basic conceptual framework for a state-controlled system. It is unlikely that any state that adopted a centralized school system would authorize this type of local involvement.

Since local school districts would be abolished, and since it would be desirable to establish some administrative centers close to each locality, the state would have to be divided into sub-units that might be called local educational development units. Each such unit could reasonably have an administrator responsible to the state superintendent of public instruction. This administrator would be the link between the local school attendance units and the state department of education. He would be responsible for administering the schools within a specified area of the state, subject to the rules, regulations, and policies prescribed by the state board of education. He might or might not have a citizen advisory committee which would assist him, the state superintendent of public instruction, and the state board of education to determine local needs and perspectives which could be taken into consideration in the over-all policy development for the state. Such a committee, however, would have no jurisdiction and would be purely advisory.

This model would tend to maximize the authority of professional educators over the governance of the local school system. Even though it would seem important to have advisory boards for local educational development units, the system could not operate to accomplish its purposes if there were diffusion of educational policy making among nonprofessional educational boards. Regardless of details of the system, both the state board of education and the administrative and supervisory personnel on the state level would be sufficiently remote from the local citizenry that they could intervene only to a minimal extent in the local governance of the schools.

This system would minimize the local participation in educational decision making and would tend to insulate the policy board from the demands of the public. Some would view this as a desirable characteristic since it would be difficult for the capricious whims of the public to find expression in the over-all policies of the state school system. The centralization of control would tend to result in a stable school system. Depending upon the nature of the leadership provided by the executive department and the attitudes of state board members, this stability could eventually result in a school system that would be resistant to change, or in one that would facilitate change by centralizing decision making and by offering incentives for local administrators who readily innovated and sanctions against those that did not. The crucial factor appears to be the quality of state leadership provided.

It might be argued as well that this system removes control of education from local politics and assures that decision making will be made on a much more highly professional basis than is true of the present system. It would be easier both to effect the minimum standards desired and to make adaptations demonstrated to lead to sound educational results on the basis of purely professional reasons than is true of the present system of control where local politics often, without consideration of research or professional experience, determines the acceptance or rejection of proposals for educational improvement.

In sum, then, the plan would result in (1) centralizing educational control within each state to guarantee the equalization of finance and of educational opportunities; (2) the facilitation of the enforcement of minimal educational standards throughout the state; (3) the elimination of local political control over education and of the gross disparities in educational opportunities that result from such control; (4) the minimization of citizen interference in the development of the appropriate professional standards for the conduct of the schools; and (5) the maximization of professional control in the interests of implementing programs and procedures based upon the best available research and professional experience.

Some Potential Disadvantages. The inadequacies of this plan relate specifically to the removal of citizen control (and presumably to a congruent reduction of popular interest in the public schools) and to the probable establishment of a system by which the state minimum standards generally would become the maximum standards as well (since no locality would be able to provide for the special or unique programs it particularly wanted for its children unless the state would be willing to approve the provision of such programs generally throughout the state). It could also be argued that relatively little would be gained by substituting state political control over education for local politics, making it likely that the state legislature would spend more time on specific details of educational legislation than is currently the case. Whether or not such a system would facilitate greater adaptability of the schools in the light of newer social needs or knowledge of the best educational practices is questionable. It is particularly doubtful in view of the fact that to this point relatively few state departments of education have demonstrated the leadership capacity necessary for the effective maintenance of such a system of educational governance. This system would be highly dependent upon the quality of its state leadership. The present informal system of diffusion of educational innovations within a state would tend to be restricted, and local initiative to excel would tend to be discouraged.

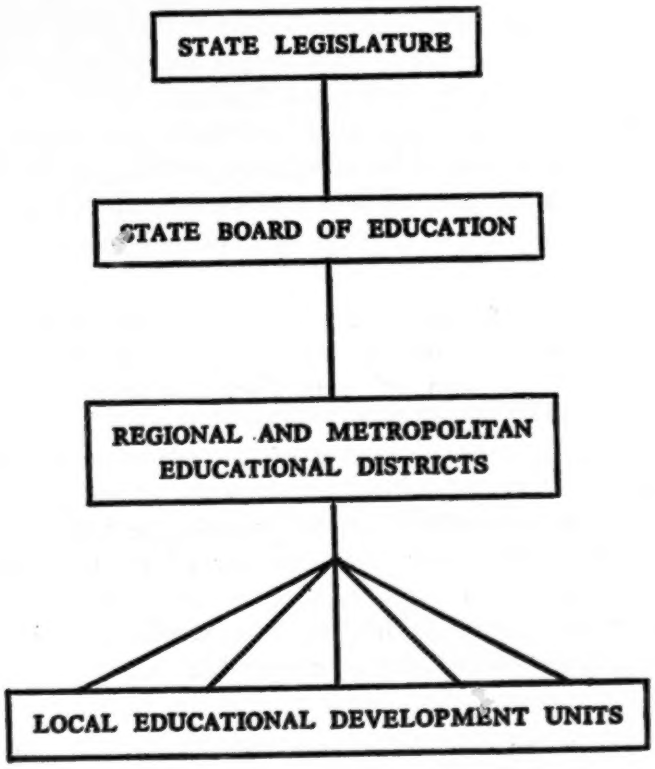
MODEL B—REGIONAL EDUCATION DISTRICTS AS MANAGEMENT AND OPERATING UNITS

The primary distinction between the present system of governance and Model B (Figure 2) is that operating responsibility for the schools would be assigned to a regional educational district which covers a broad geographical area and to a metropolitan school authority or district for metropolitan areas. As in Model A, the local educational development unit in many cases would replace the present local school district. Its functions would be primarily fact-finding and advisory with the basic policy making unit being the board of education for the regional education district or its counterpart in metropolitan areas.

The roles of the legislature and of the state board of education, in theory, would be no different than they are at present. The need for intermediate educational districts to serve rural areas would be eliminated. Regional education districts would be established to include a geographical area large enough to encompass a total sociological community and with an enrollment large enough to provide economically for the complete range of educational services needed in a contemporary school system. The metropolitan authority would probably comprise what is now considered to be the central city and its satellite suburban communities. It would be of smaller geographical size than most of the regional educational districts within the state but would have a significantly larger school population.

Some Potential Advantages. The primary advantages of this system over the present plan of governance would lie in its unification of all educational services needed by the children of the area into a single educational authority. The number of school districts within any state would be reduced to a minimum. School district boundaries could readily be changed because the size of the regional district would enable its board and staff to consider educational values as they relate to children and families more readily than is now the case.

Figure 2. *Regional Education Districts as Operating Units*


STATE LEGISLATURE
STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
REGIONAL AND METROPOLITAN EDUCATIONAL DISTRICTS
LOCAL EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT UNITS

It would be desirable for each regional metropolitan education district to be divided into local educational development units comprising the progression of schools that serve a particular group of neighborhoods or communities within the larger area. Essentially, such a development unit would involve the elementary schools which feed into the junior high schools and the junior high schools which feed into a single senior high school. Hence, the unit for development within the regional education district itself would be a sub-unit serving a geographical area with K-12 educational facilities. Such a development unit would enable the attention of administrative personnel to be focused upon the continuous education of children throughout their public school careers and provide for the smooth transition from one educational unit to the next. An administrator responsible directly to the superintendent of the regional education district would be in charge of each development unit, and he (as might be the case of Model A) would work with an advisory board which had no authority over operating policies.*

Local development units probably would function much the same as local administrative or sub-district units do currently in some metropolitan school districts and states which have county unit systems. Resource procurement, resource allocation, general policy formation, and provision of specialized technical and supervisory services would be provided through the central district offices. Problems of local personnel management, program development and adjustment, community relations, pupil personnel matters, and so forth, would be administered within the sub-district in accordance with general district policies. In-service education, curriculum planning and research, and educational program coordination for particular groups of children would be functions performed both by the central office and in the sub-district. It is envisaged that these direct operating functions plus much planning and evaluation for the unit would be conducted within the local development unit. Over-all program development, resource allocations, and general informational services would be provided through the regional or metropolitan district offices.

A primary benefit of this system would be that it could realistically achieve a proper balance among various levels of control while maintaining an equitable system of educational support and opportunities without the unit of governance becoming too remote from the various local communities. A certain amount of centralization could be achieved in the interest of having operating school units of sufficient geographical size and population to enable them to provide the full range of required educational services. However, the area served by the operating school unit would include only a small section of the state, and the governing board, elected by the people within the area, would not be so far removed as to make the citizen involvement an impossible chore.

This model would provide for a sufficient amount of latitude in educational decision making to permit variations to occur between regional management and operating units and, hence, would facilitate the innovative and adaptive potential of these units. Because the larger school district envisaged in this plan would not necessarily be coterminous with the boundaries of any other governmental agency, it would be primarily divorced from local politics and would generate its own political systems, the attention of which would be directed toward educational goals. Education, in many respects, would not be politically subordinated in the system of governance to other state or local functions.

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*Some authorities might argue that such a regional district could also include the governance of community colleges. Although this is a possibility, the matter is complex and would need to be carefully explored in each state or regional area. The unification of elementary, secondary and junior college districts into a single administrative district has been accomplished in some states with varying degrees of success. Community college administrators generally do not favor this organization because, they feel, there is a tendency to under-emphasize the importance of the community college and the unique role it can and should play in the educational system. This writer, however, feels that our educational system, with its "layering" of independent jurisdictions has resulted in a complex, competitive system which confuses the average citizen, complicates his problems of effective participation, and even possibly reduces the educational effectiveness of the total educational program from the students' point of view. A single educational jurisdiction for all levels could certainly simplify the systems and hopefully would lead to greater efficiency and effectiveness of resource utilization. The large, regional school district could effectively accomplish this end.

In summary, this organization would probably result in (1) districts which are large enough to provide the full range of essential educational services, (2) an efficient system of governance encompassing all of the educational needs of a geographical area, (3) the removal of educational and financial disparities among communities in an area, (4) the removal of educational policy making from local, and frequently petty, politics, (5) the capability of achieving greater professional responsibility in the governance of education, and (6) the increase in the potential of citizen participation in effective educational planning rather than the dissipation of his energies through frequent conflict over managerial details.

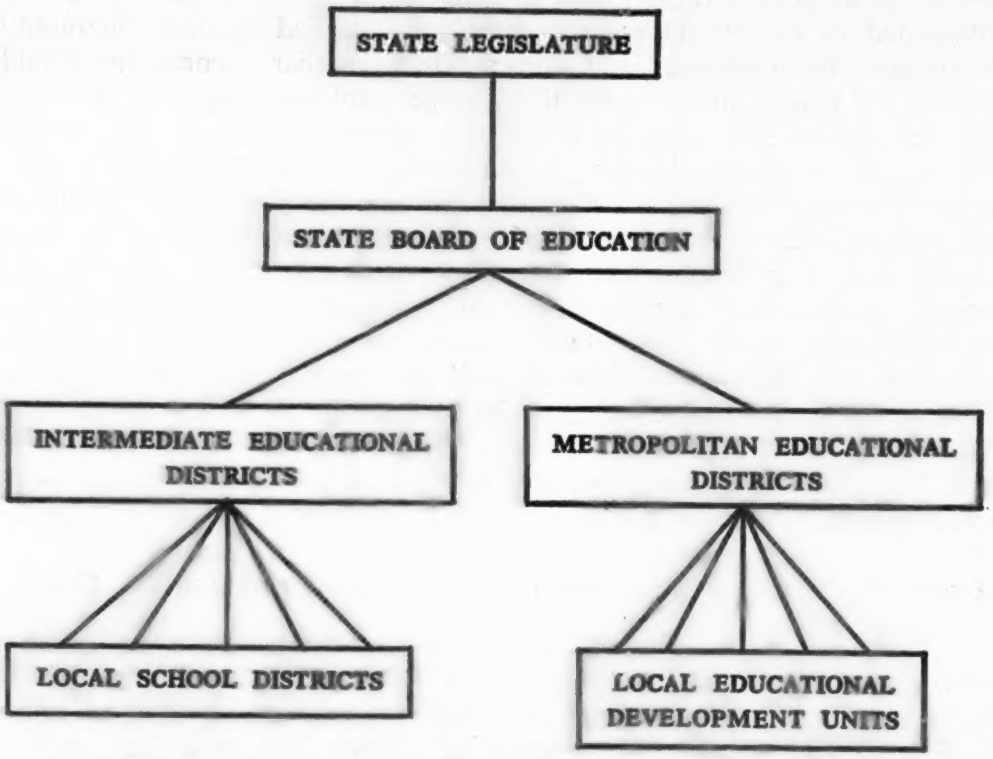
Some Potential Disadvantages. One difficulty in the maintenance of this system might arise because such a school district would serve several communities rather than a single one. Some friction could be anticipated in the event that resources were needed in one community to upgrade its programs or facilities while another community would not directly benefit at the same time. Some local attendance units would still be considerably removed from the central office and the central policy making board. Under the circumstances, however, the professional educators would have a considerably greater amount of authority and responsibility for dealing with both internal problems and the local publics than is now generally the case. With its greater resources and broader geographical service area, this regional or metropolitan area school district would have some serious resource allocation problems with respect to the unique needs of local development units or attendance centers. These problems would not be insuperable, but they would have to be the focus of considerable attention so they could be minimized and kept from interfering with the general problems of policy development within the school unit.

MODEL C—LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITH AN INTERMEDIATE UNIT

Model C (Figure 3) differs very little from the organization that exists in a number of states today. It differs primarily from Model B in that the school unit that serves the large geographical area is an intermediate school district, or cooperative service unit, that has certain limited areas of operating concern, while the local school district with its varying sizes is retained as the basic operating and policy-control unit within the state.

Some Potential Advantages. In this plan, the intermediate school district or cooperative service school district, whether it serves the rural or the metropolitan areas, would have authority to operate programs which are shared by a number of school units. These programs are devised to supplement the educational programs available in the local school district. As generally conceived, the intermediate unit in such a system would have very limited autonomous decision making authority in itself. Its services would be largely supported either through a direct tax levied against all property within its jurisdiction for the support of its programs, or it would enter into contractual arrangements with local school districts to provide the support necessary for its various programs. A combination of the two possibilities, limited taxing authority and support through contractual relationships, might be the most feasible method of its operation. Local school districts would be free to develop their own programs or to use the services available through the intermediate education district. The intermediate education district would serve a large geographical area and population and would, thus, be able to provide services more efficiently and economically than could small districts. Thus, all but the larger school districts within its jurisdiction could utilize its facilities and services to supplement their own programs.

Figure 3. *Local School Districts with an Intermediate Unit*


STATE LEGISLATURE
STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
INTERMEDIATE EDUCATIONAL DISTRICTS
METROPOLITAN EDUCATIONAL DISTRICTS
LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS
LOCAL EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT UNITS

Specifically, this model would (1) keep operating control in the local school district but would enable every school district to have access to the educational benefits and services which the citizens wanted for their children, (2) enable larger school districts to operate outside of intermediate units or become a part of them as they saw fit, (3) tend to equalize educational opportunities while having only a minimum effect upon financial equalization, and (4) keep basic educational policy control close to the people in each community.

Some Potential Disadvantages. The primary weakness of this plan lies in the possibility that an ambiguity of relationships between the intermediate unit and the local school districts would impede the most desirable development of the district and the range of services it could provide. Experiences with intermediate school districts in the past show that rivalries usually develop between local school districts and the intermediate school district personnel and boards, and that a considerable amount of the time of personnel has to be employed in effecting compromises and working out the areas of agreement and cooperation.

The intermediate education district is a cumbersome tool in educational policy making, at best, even though it provides services to small districts which they could not possibly maintain through their own resources. The intermediate education district, as presently constituted, serves small school districts better than the larger school districts which have the resources which could be used to provide their own services. Consequently, many local school officials prefer to control the policies under which these services will be provided rather than be dependent upon another board and set of administrators to work out the policies and, then, experience the disadvantages of having to share these services with other school districts within the area. The fact remains that, without the intermediate school district, the larger school districts have access to a range of educational programs and services which are frequently denied to the smaller school districts even if they do have the wealth necessary to support some of them.

Serious difficulties in the operation of the intermediate district would exist in metropolitan centers with the extreme disparities of wealth that exist not only between the central cities and their satellite suburban communities, but even among the suburban communities themselves. Rather than having an independent and semi-autonomous intermediate unit to serve such areas, it would appear more desirable to have a metropolitan educational district styled after the educational consortiums developed under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). Such authorities would not have independent decision making authority, but their policy making board would be composed of representatives from the school districts which they serve. The decisions of this board would be subject to acceptance by the member school districts. In this case, too, decision making would be a rather cumbersome affair, but it would be kept subject to the control of the people whose children are being educated and who pay the bill for the services that are provided.

It would seem to be highly desirable, as well, to maintain the local educational development units for larger districts similar to the manner in which they would operate in Model B.

It would also be argued that among the disadvantages of this model is the fact that the present proliferation of educational jurisdictions, still subject to local political currents, would prevail. Under the circumstances, effective utilization of professional competency would be characteristic of the larger independent districts and the intermediate units, but less so in the smaller operating district. Insofar as the basic educational program is concerned, equality of educational opportunity would still be far from achieved. As indicated earlier, to make the intermediate unit an effective, professional operating unit, the entire traditional framework of the county superintendency would have to be changed.

MODEL D—SCHOOL DISTRICTS THAT ARE SUBJECT TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY

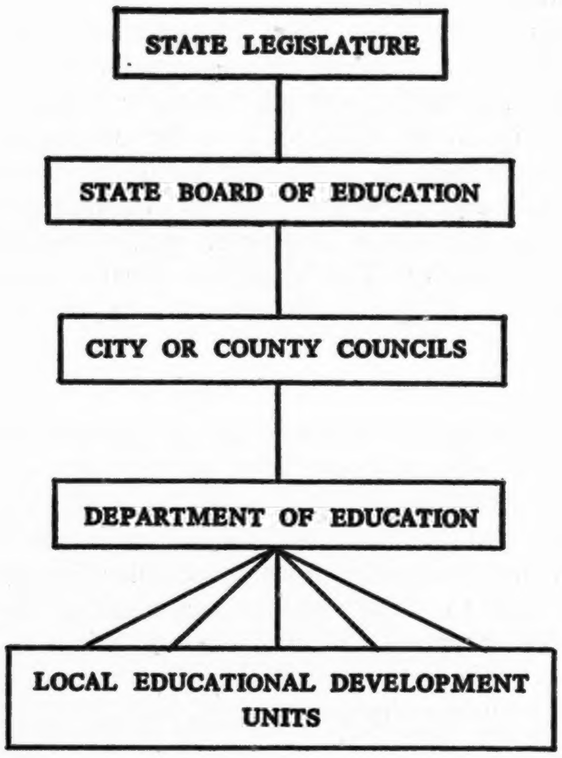
Although generally the school districts of the country have constituted entirely separate and autonomous units of government, many examples exist of school districts which are fiscally dependent upon another unit of government even though the school district, at least theoretically, has independent jurisdiction over the educational program. There is increasing recognition of the fact that some of the educational needs and problems of the community cannot be resolved by a school district that is, in its operation, independent of other youth-serving agencies. The resources of these agencies need to be coordinated with the programs of the schools. Their services are frequently vital in supplementing the responsibilities of the schools for attending to the educational growth and adjustment needs of the children and youth. The complete autonomy of both the schools and these other youth-serving agencies has made it rather difficult to develop coordinated programs through which the resources allocated by communities to their functioning can be maximized and used with greatest efficiency and economy. It has frequently been noted that conflict among such agencies results in wasted resources through jurisdictional disputes and through programs and policies of one agency that conflict with, attenuate, or even nullify those of another.

This plan (Figure 4) poses many complications, particularly for states which have both densely and sparsely populated areas. Although it would be desirable to have a uniform pattern of governance for all of the state, incorporating educational jurisdiction in either metropolitan or county governments, this might not be totally possible. Consequently, for some areas, by virtue of sparsity of population, independent jurisdictions and intermediate districts might persist. Although this complicates the organization, it also takes into consideration the disparity of needs and perspectives that exist particularly in the sparsely settled Western states.

The pros and cons of such an elemental arrangement have been variously debated in the literature, and the issue has not been resolved to the satisfaction of either proponents or opponents of such a system. It would appear reasonable to assume that the debate will continue and many local communities will be faced with the necessity of deciding whether or not they wish to participate in such a plan.

Some Potential Advantages. It has been proposed that the unification of all youth-serving agencies, including the schools, under a single department of a local governmental authority, be it a city or county council, could result in the more effective employment of resources, the better coordination of agencies to achieve maximum efficiency and economy of resource utilization, and the most coordinated and consistent attack upon the problems that beset children and youth in large communities. There is no good reason why the juvenile department or the police agency should be entirely independent of the schools, operating without respect for the educational objectives which should guide their work. The same can be said of the social welfare agencies, the recreational and cultural agencies, and the youth employment agencies.

Figure 4. *The School District as a Part of the City or County Government*



However, so long as the schools or any of the other jurisdictions are effectively autonomous, cumbersome arrangements have to be provided for effecting a consensus about policies, objectives, and programs, as well as about the coordination of activities. The fragmentation of social functions within the community, it is argued, inevitably leads not only to an uneconomical use of resources, but to the provision of ineffective programs frequently duplicated by other jurisdictions.

The model discussed here would differ from Model C only insofar as some local school districts would be coterminous with a total city or county jurisdiction, and the city or county council would be delegated the responsibility to serve as the educational authority in these instances. The educational department might, in this case, report directly to the city or county council, which would be the policy making board for the schools, or the school superintendent might report directly to the chief executive officer of the local government unit, of which the schools are a part. The legislature of Alaska apparently contemplated the establishment of an organization somewhat in accordance with this model when it authorized a borough system of government for the more populous areas.

Some Potential Disadvantages. The effects of such a plan would be to end the autonomy of the school district and to place the professional aspects of educational administration directly under the authority of the political officials of the community. Education would be considered a department of the city government, the same as any other department, although structurally certain unique factors related to the educational function might be given consideration. It would certainly be desirable to have an appointive advisory board or commission to work with the superintendent and with other educational administration personnel. Citizen involvement directly in the affairs of the school district could thus be enhanced. The result would obviously be the reduction of the authority and control by the professional educators and their subordination to the elected or appointed politicians who represent the citizens of the community. The price of greater coordination and a more efficient utilization of resources would be the elimination of the favored position which education as an independent function now occupies within the community.

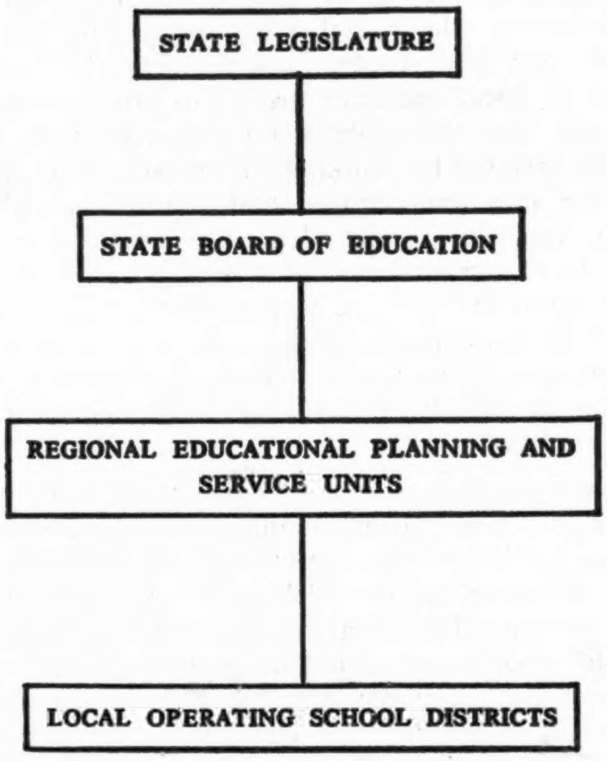
Probably two major weaknesses of the system will retard its acceptance. First, the political boundaries of the city or county may not provide the best definition of the range of authority for the school district. City school districts today frequently extend beyond the city limits, and this factor has tended both to equalize finance and to provide better school services to small satellite communities. It would, also, be difficult to develop cooperative arrangements, when desirable, between two different types of governmental jurisdictions, such as a suburban school district and an urban city government.

The second major weakness is to be found in the history of corruption in city governments and the manner in which they have traditionally exercised their police powers, both of which, although not totally absent in educational governance, are at least antithetical to the culture of the local school district.

MODEL E—REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND SERVICE UNITS WITH LOCAL OPERATING UNITS

A fifth model (Figure 5) presents the concept of regional planning and service units which work directly under the state department of education but which have certain autonomous functions. Within each of these regional educational planning and service units would be several semiautonomous operating school districts, each with its own responsibility. This plan would entail the division of the state into regional educational planning and service units by the state board of education under authorization of the state legislature. The regional units would be delegated certain powers which are now sometimes exercised by the state educational agency and by intermediate education districts. Each regional unit, operating within the framework of state laws and state board of education regulations, would have its own board and administrative and supervisory staffs. For all essential purposes, it would constitute that arm of the state department of education having direct contacts with local school districts. The state educational agency, in such a plan, would be reduced in regulatory functions and delegated greater advisory and leadership functions.

Figure 5. *Regional Education Planning and Service Units with Local Operating School Districts*


STATE LEGISLATURE
STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND SERVICE UNITS
LOCAL OPERATING SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Regional educational planning and service units would be empowered to establish their own policies within the limitations imposed by statutes and regulations. Hopefully, a system of school board membership would be established that would provide all operating districts within the regional unit some type of representation so as to minimize the possibility of conflicts between the regional board and the operating district boards. *In a plan such as this, a system of differentiation of powers and responsibilities would be essential to insure effective working relationships.*

For example, the state educational agency would still retain the authority to regulate the application of certification regulations. It would establish—in cooperation with the legislature—the general guidelines for the operation of regional units and would provide regional units with the specialized assistance necessary to carry out their functions. The state educational agency would collect such information as needed by the legislature, would recommend changes in legislation, and would study the effects of proposed legislative changes. It would be the agency responsible for the determination of financial needs and would distribute state funds according to formula and regulations.

Regional educational planning and service units would have primary responsibility for over-all planning, supervision, evaluation, and research and development activities which would affect the operating units. They would collect information needed by local operating units in central data storage and retrieval systems and would utilize such data systems as a part of the state network—as well as for local and regional purposes. They would have responsibilities to see that school buildings were properly located, that in-service educational needs were being met, and that specialized services needed by students and teachers—but beyond the ability or feasibility of the local operating district to provide—were made available. They would have the facilities for researching the effectiveness of educational programs and for working with personnel in operating districts to determine the program changes and innovations which should be attempted. They would also act to determine local financial needs and be empowered to levy a general tax over the entire region to supplement the state equalization program and to provide the funds needed to pay for the basic or foundation educational program. In a sense, the regional unit would take over some of the responsibilities of both the state and the local districts, and they would also provide services which local operating units would be free to use as desired.

The local operating school district would retain many of the customary powers which it now has. It would employ its own personnel and develop its own program for determining the numbers of personnel to be provided and the levels of remuneration which would be maintained. Within the limitations of the general regional plans, the local operating unit would locate and build schools and would determine the extent to which they wished to exceed the minimum educational program mandated by the state. They would determine what educational services they wished to provide in addition to those they would receive through the regional educational planning and service units. They would also have the power to levy taxes for their own special needs or desires beyond the funds they would receive from both the state foundation program and the revenues raised by regional unit.

Some Potential Advantages. Through the application of this model, the educational structure within the state would actually be greatly simplified. Instead of the state department of education having to deal with a large number of operating school districts, a large part of its responsibilities would be relinquished to planning units that whould have closer relations with operating school districts and, consequently, could have a more direct bearing upon the actual instructional level personnel. The complexity of operating school districts having to deal with a separate *ad hoc* agency, such as the intermediate school district, the authority and responsibility for which would be difficult to define, would be eliminated.

The actual management of the local operating district would also be simplified, since some of the complex and expensive functions or services which local districts have characteristically been unable to provide—and for which local school officials have not been prepared—would be centered in the regional planning and service unit. Few local school districts have been successful, for example, in coordinating educational planning services with local community planning agencies. They have not employed the evaluative, research, and development personnel who are trained for their specializations and do not "fit" well with local concepts of administrative management or supervision. Except for the largest metropolitan school districts, these services cannot be economically afforded, and their proper utilization is on a scale greater than that of the individual school district.

Some difficult problems of local school district relationships with each other could probably be more readily resolved without the interference of provincial views. Attendance boundaries between school jurisdictions could be readily adjusted if this authority were given to the regional educational planning unit, and in a rapidly expanding metropolitan center with various suburban governmental jurisdictions, this could be a very beneficial factor in relating school attendance boundaries to the homes in which children live.

One of the highly significant benefits would result from the establishment of planning and service centers large enough to perform their basic roles effectively, while keeping the jurisdiction over educational functions which are most visible to parents and school patrons in the hands of the citizens and their elected representatives in local operating districts.

The responsibility for raising funds necessary to support the basic educational program, for example, would be placed in the hands of the board of directors of the regional educational planning and service unit, but the power to vote taxes for any programs beyond the minimum essentials would be retained in the board or citizens of the local operating school district. Hence, the basic program would be assured stability of financing while the local citizens would be assured the right to provide those special programs they wished for their children and youth.

Another important benefit for areas in which this model is accepted would result from the fact that operating districts would not have to be large enough to include 50,000 or more pupils, as some studies have shown, in order to assure maximum economy of scale in financing the educational program. In fact, the findings of previous studies in this area would become relatively meaningless if this plan were adopted. Since huge operating systems tend to develop bureaucracies that discourage changes (the New York City system is a classic example, where a major reorganization including decentralization has already been proposed) an added benefit could result from the fact that no such unwieldly system would need to be developed in the future and some that already exist could be reorganized.

The balance between professional responsibility and accountability would be more readily achieved, for the larger district would be able to provide protection against erratic public reaction, while the smaller operating unit would guarantee responsiveness to public values and aspirations. The role of the state educational agency would be different, as well, since it, too, would have a better balanced perspective of its educational functions than now exists.

Some Potential Disadvantages. This model would seem to many to constitute a serious invasion of what is now considered to be the prerogatives of the local school district. To make the system work in such a fashion as to up-grade the quality of education and simplify the administrative structure of education, substantial decision making responsibility in certain areas would have to be taken from both the state educational agency and the local school district and given to the regional educational planning and service unit. This could be accomplished only through legislative action and might entail a great deal of resentment and conflict, at least in the initial stages of the development of the program.

Although theoretically it would be possible to establish a proper balance among the three levels of concern, in actual practice a great deal of time would have to be spent in communication among the three levels in order to insure the development and maintenance of proper educational relationships. Conflict, usurpation of responsibility which belongs on another level of government, jealousy of another's prerogatives—all are factors which could seriously impede the successful operation of the model. Some authorities, no doubt, would also contend that this model might endanger smooth operating relationships because it would tend to divide responsibilities unrealistically. The farther authority is removed from the operating level, the greater might be bureaucratic controls which would have no reference to their implications for the successful operation of the instructional program. The divorcement of responsibility for and control over evaluation, financial planning, and development from operational accountability could lead to indifference and neglect if successful working relationships were not established.

The manner in which these problems are solved would, obviously, be the key to the successful operation of the model.

SUMMARY

It would be difficult to say which pattern is most likely to predominate in the future. It is not difficult from a professional point of view to determine which would be the preferred model, although there might be various types of modifications to it.

It is not likely that either professional educators or the citizens-at-large will readily accept Model A, which gives control to a state educational agency and makes of the state a single school district.

It is also not likely that Model D, despite some basic advantages for metropolitan areas, will achieve broad acceptance. The fear of potential dangers arising from subordination of the schools to local political agencies is still great. It will undoubtedly continue to be so unless or until cities and counties demonstrate their ability to sublimate politics to the basic needs of the people and to utilize knowledge and experience in the resolution of their problems. Although the political argument is not entirely realistic, since local school districts are inevitably involved in politics even though they are independent jurisdictions, the autonomy of the school district has generally been beneficial where a corrupt or excessively partisan city government has given an orientation to city policies which is designed to enhance particular groups within the community rather than to serve the total needs of the community. It is not only city school systems that have failed to respond to the educational needs of minority and economically disadvantaged groups, but city government has also abrogated its responsibility and obligation to create the basic patterns of existence within the city that could have enabled school districts rather readily to relieve the dislocations that currently exist. Model D would not materially alter this situation and might actually make it more difficult to deal effectively with major social problems.

A major concern in the restructuring of school organization should be the provision of a more effective and more adaptable system of educational governance. From this point of view, Models B, C, and E are readily seen as the most acceptable to both citizen and professional groups. For the most part, they are not greatly at variance with the system that currently exists, and, secondly, they provide means through which the present coalition of control between the citizens within the local community and professional educators can be continued. Idealistically, Model B has considerable advantage over Models C and E since it eliminates a second layer between the basic level of operating control over the schools and the state board of education. It also concentrates operating responsibility in a board which has the resources and the population necessary to provide a complete range of educational programs and services within its jurisdiction. The county unit systems are, basically, the existing pattern of school units that would be envisaged in many states if Model B is accepted. There has been sufficient experience with the operation of this larger school unit to indicate its weaknesses (which would have to be overcome) and its potential strengths in being able to equalize educational opportunities throughout an area and to maintain the adaptability which contemporary school districts require. Model C is slightly more cumbersome and would not result in the efficiency and effectiveness of operation of Model B. However, basically at some additional expense, it would be an acceptable pattern and would possibly serve as a means of transition to the larger school units envisaged in Model B.

Although Model E does not appear to be as effective a plan as Model B, it avoids the complexity of an intermediate unit which has an indefinite and ambiguous set of functions. It has the distinct advantages of larger school units plus the diversion of energies of the state educational authority from regulatory and control emphasis to leadership functions. It also has the possibility of maintaining local fiscal responsibility within the framework of a state finance plan and should result in much greater stability of educational finance than now exists. It retains most of the advantages of local control while making adaptations to the needs of a growing population.

In order of preference, for the reasons stated above, this writer would list Model B, then, closely following, Model E. Model C would be preferred to both A and D, in that order. It should be borne in mind that the chief criterion for the acceptability of a structure of governance over education should be the manner in which it facilitates its operation of the educational programs. Economy, simplicity of relationships, and efficiency of operations are important, but lesser criteria.

The Emerging Local Internal Organization for Education

In the discussion which follows, attention will be focused on the problems and future needs of the internal organization of local school systems and schools. No attempt will be made to be exhaustive in terms of the problems and potentials discussed. Those selected appear to this writer to be central issues which must be considered to make local school districts effective instruments for educational governance.

THE INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL

The major problems that exist on the institutional level of the school organization involve the manner in which the school board relates to the total community or area which it serves, the internal organization and operation of the policy-making body and the relationship of the executive officer of the school board to the community, the school board, and to the internal organization of the schools.[15]

School Board and Community Relations. The school board was an effective representative of the community in the days when communities were small, rural, and fairly homogeneous. Today, the school board has become less representative of the total community and more representative of particular dominant interest groups within the community. As communities have grown in size and become more hetrogeneous in their values and aspirations, the school boards have tended to become increasingly remote from the public-at-large. Public elections of school board members generally assure that, except for times when there are extreme dissatisfactions and active political campaigns, school board members will be recruited from that particular segment of the population which can—either through overt political action or by default of the majority—control the elections.

Characteristically, school boards are composed of people who hold the same or similar values. They usually can easily arrive at a consensus without much difficulty, and they tend to become self-perpetuating units as a result of community disinterest in school elections and affairs.

Appointive boards in major urban centers have generally been more broadly representative than elective boards. They also have generally experienced a much greater conflict in policy determination than have elective boards in small communities. In the larger cities where appointive boards exist, there has been a tacit, gentleman's agreement that the mayor or other appointing officer will make certain that various ethnic, minority, or religious groups or points of view are represented on the board. Undoubtedly, there has been a tendency to avoid the appointment of extreme partisans and to secure leaders who, although representative, are still closely aligned with the dominant interests of the prevailing social structure. Many school administrators have obviously not encouraged a more representative school board because to do so would tend to increase the conflict within the board and further endanger the privileged position of professional educators within the school system.

It must now be recognized that some of the economic, social, and political problems of the community have resulted from the separation of minority or disadvantaged groups from the instruments of governance within the community. It is questionable that the major issues in the civil rights movement and the war on poverty—as they affect education—can be resolved without making local governing boards more representative of all of the interests regardless of their economic or social status. How this can be worked out to secure the satisfaction of local groups, maintain quality of performance of board members, and achieve effective governance over the schools is a matter of considerable conjecture. Some authorities would hold that the type of representation that is necessary can be achieved only through an appointive system, but it would be very difficult to write into the regulations for such a system the range of requirements that should be taken into consideration and which would possibly institutionalize arrangements which would have only a temporary effect upon achieving the distribution of influence among the various groups within the community.

It is apparent that the present presumably nonpartisan elective system —particularly in large communities—is subject to the vagaries of the electoral process, the skill of political groups in achieving their ends, and the power which socially and economically influential groups can exercise. One might argue that increasing enlightenment on the part of communities is the only sure safeguard, but realism would necessitate a recognition that such enlightenment will rarely prevail, particularly when the issues are as crucial as they seem to be at the present time.[16]

It seems doubtful that specific institutional arrangements could be devised that would guarantee the desired ends. A system of proportional representation might be employed instead of the system of plurality elections that now generally prevails. Proportional representation has been used in other countries to some good effect, and it does give groups within the community an opportunity to be represented in accordance with their strengths, provided they can mobilize the necessary candidates and political power adequately to represent their interests. It is also a rather cumbersome and complex process, and it would be very difficult to achieve public understanding of the system sufficient to gain acceptance of it.

Other alternatives appear to be ones that would be informal but could result in considerable improvement over the present situation. It has been suggested, for example, that in districts where the school board is appointed, the appointing officer should select his appointees exclusively from a panel nominated by an *ad hoc* committee of citizens, representing the various interests within the district and charged with the responsibility of nominating these individuals who would best represent diverse public interests and be most likely to promote the welfare of the public schools. Similarly, in districts where school board members are elected, a nominating convention broadly representative of the total community could assist in selecting nominees for school board positions to assure their representativeness and their proper concern for education.

There are those who argue that when individuals are selected to the school board because they represent various groups within the community, they are likely to promote the ends of their particular groups rather than be concerned about the educational welfare and interests of the total community. Studies of representative boards other than educational support this contention.[17]

The problem is not one that is easily resolved. Undue restrictions placed upon school boards can result in fragmentation of the board to the degree that effective action is almost impossible. Merely prescribing the representation on the board could limit effective democratic participation on the part of citizens who are most interested in education. At the same time, the conflict that would be created could result in the necessity for the professional educators to assume more power due to the leadership vacuum created by a contentious board.

Probably the only solution lies in attempting to stimulate greater public interest in the school board elections and in utilizing informal techniques for nomination and screening to assure that the public has an opportunity to appraise thoroughly the qualifications of those who seek school board membership. As pointed out in a subsequent paragraph, the judicious use of lay committees that are representative of all segments of the community and which are associated with either educational development units or the various attendance units could help significantly any school system to achieve superior communication with the various segments of the community.

In some states, in order to assure some geographical dispersion of school board members after school district re-organization has taken place, the district is zoned with a majority of the school board members required to be residents of designated zones. Generally, all are required to be elected by a district-wide vote. Although there is some criticism because of the restrictive nature of such a provision, it seems to assure a broader dispersion of board members and more interest on the part of citizens who see board members as representative of their neighborhood interests.[18]

How School Boards Should Function. The manner in which the school board actually conducts its business is fully as important as the struc-

tural arrangements for securing proper representatives and effective policy making for the schools. Many school boards are still inclined to operate as informal, social, discussion clubs rather than as governmental agencies which conduct the public's business.[19] The growing size and complexity of school districts and the increasing sensitivity of their problems makes it necessary that school boards so conduct their affairs that the legal requirements for their operations are met, that the public can adequately understand the manner in which its educational business is being transacted, that information needed to make appropriate decisions is both available and used, and that proper attention is accorded to all of the points of view which should be considered. There are certain principles of school board procedures and policies which should be followed to assure the achievement of these objectives.

First, *all school board proceedings except those that are clearly privileged should be conducted in open meetings, publicly announced and readily accessible both to the news media and the public.* Executive sessions of the board should be limited to matters of such a sensitive nature that the public's interest would be adversely affected or individuals would be professionally damaged if they are discussed in an open meeting. This principle requires that the school boards meet in a designated place at a designated time, and that physical facilities be sufficient to accommodate the board, its executive officers and administrative personnel, and that as large a space be provided for public attendance as is necessary.

Second, *the board should have clearly stated, written policies regarding its procedures which are periodically reviewed and evaluated.*

Third, *provision should be made for all business except that which is clearly routine to be transacted only under proper conditions of debate and deliberation.* Members should have advance information about all major items that need to be considered. Documentary evidence should be available to them and to the news media.

Recommendations of their professional advisers should be available in writing, and *recommendations should include a clear statement of essential information,* the *alternatives for action available to the board,* and the professional staff's best judgment regarding the potential consequences of the *selection of each alternative.* The expression of public sentiments on the issue should be encouraged.

Fourth, *state laws should require that before a school board member assumes office, he participate at district expense in an orientation and training session conducted by the state department of education.* Such a program should familiarize him with the legal frameworks within which the schools operate, the legal requirements for school board membership, and the policies and procedures through which school boards can effectively conduct their affairs.

Fifth, *school boards of the future will need to study their agenda carefully to determine whether they are engaging in making those decisions* *which they can most effectively and appropriately make and are avoiding becoming involved in making administrative decisions* which they have employed competent, well-prepared administrators to make. An effective school board makes "public" policy—not "administrative" or "operational" policies. It evaluates the degree to which its public policies are being carried out by its professional staff and avoids making decisions which require professional expertise.

Essentially, *the school board can become an effective instrument of educational governance to the extent that it limits its area of operations and studies the research and experience which indicate how deliberative bodies can effectively perform their responsibilities.* Today's school boards are ineffective to the extent that the deliberative process is characterized by the expression of prejudice, the use of irrelevant opinion in preference to professional knowledge and research, and the subordination of public interest to the objectives of special interest groups or to the psychological satisfactions of individual board members. *The survival of the school board as an instrument of educational governance demands that members become more disciplined in the performance of their responsibilities and in the development of procedures for transacting school district affairs.*

School Board-Superintendent Relations. Probably one of the most frequent problems that occurs on the institutional level of the organization is conflict between the superintendent and the school board because there is a failure both in the law and in the operating policies of school boards clearly to delineate the discrete functions of each.[20] The problem arises as a result of the fact that the law generally gives complete authority over the governance and administration of the schools to the school board and fails to recognize the superintendent and his sphere of authority except by authorizing the board to employ an executive officer and defining the certification requirements for occupants of the position.

The older literature on administration attempted to distinguish between policy making and administration, but the more recent theoretical developments and research studies have shown that it is almost impossible clearly to delineate between these functions. There are certain administrative concerns which must be brought before the board before it can fully exercise its responsibilities. *A policy-making body cannot operate effectively without the recommendations and the information provided it by its professional executive officers.* The executive officer has an obligation to evaluate for the board the degree to which he can effectively administer policies which the board adopts, and, correspondingly, the board has an obligation to evaluate the performance of its executive officer.

In spite of the difficulties of definition, the proper functioning of any school system demands that there be at least an operational definition of the responsibilities and authority of the board in relationship to the superintendent of schools. The failure to achieve such an end will continue to produce friction and unnecessary instability within school operations.

We need to recognize that the superintendent is (or should be) professionally qualified for his position and that school board members are citizens representing the public's interest and not specifically trained for the complex problems of administering the schools. *It is desirable therefore, for school laws of the future to delineate major areas of responsibility of each that would lead to the establishment of more effective working relationships.* It probably is not desirable to write specific details into the legal code, but it is certainly appropriate for the delineations to be made in the rules and regulations adopted for the governance of the schools by state boards of education.

An innate feature of the American governmental system is the establishment of checks and balances which enable the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government to so operate as to protect the public interest and to be unhindered in their proper exercise of their responsibilities. Since school laws have generally delegated some legislative, as well as administrative and quasi-judicial responsibilities to school boards, the needed differentiation of responsibilities has not existed. Adequate checks and balances upon inappropriate action have not been established, and confusion as to roles and functions has occurred. Under the circumstances, operating procedures are frequently based upon expediency rather than acceptable principles of governance. A part of the problem, of course, is the proper education of incumbents so that a complete understanding of the ways in which they can perform their roles most effectively is achieved.

The area in which the greatest difficulty exists as a result of this confusion appears to be that of personnel administration. School boards frequently usurp the prerogatives of their executive officer in nominating candidates for positions or initiating personnel actions which are not recommended by their executive officer. At the present time, numerous school boards are engaged directly in negotiations with groups of teachers or other school district employees in spite of the fact that such negotiation does not give the school boards an opportunity to review recommendations of their officers and make judgments as to whether or not the agreements arrived at between their officers and representative groups are acceptable from the perspective of the over-all interests and welfare of the school district.

When the board is directly involved in negotiations, the board itself has agreed to a set of principles but the employee groups still have to accept or reject the agreement of their representatives. At that point, the hands of the school board, as representatives of the district's interest, are tied while the employee groups are free to create new issues and concerns. Obviously, in such a situation, the board is caught in a trap in which it is deciding upon policy for the school district in the process of its negotiations with personnel, while the personnel are free to interject new issues which prolong the dispute or conflict and seriously interfere with the ability of administrators to manage personnel affairs effectively.

Issues of this sort must be resolved in the school districts of the future in order to assure the proper functioning of all levels of school governance. *Operating procedures and policies must assure that the responsibility for* *all of the executive and administrative functions of the school board are delegated to the superintendent of schools.* There can be no other pattern for achieving effective, harmonious, and cooperative relations. School boards will have to learn how to work effectively through an executive officer who shares with the board certain legal responsibilities and privileges for the maintenance of the schools.

Superintendent Relationships with the Internal Organization. Regardless of how the position is defined, the superintendent is the middle man between the policy making or general governing body and the internal organization of the schools. He cannot perform his functions effectively if he is limited because the school board has assumed part of the executive functions and he is charged with the responsibility for conducting the remaining ones. Neither can he discharge his responsibilities effectively to the school board if his role is considered only to be that of a representative of the professional employees to the board.

In former years, when a highly paternalistic system of governance seemed to be acceptable both to school boards and to a docile teaching profession, problems arising out of a differentiation of administration and teaching interests did not frequently arise. Now that both instructional and classified employees are demanding a change from the paternalistic system to one that emphasizes greater collegial responsibility for governance, and both the teachers and other employee groups are more militant in demanding involvement and representation, the situation has become critical and has led some individuals to speculate as to whether or not "the superintendency is an obsolete function."

Regardless of the adequacy of representations for greater collegial governance in the organization, a system of anarchy would prevail—and it is unlikely that the public interest would be adequately protected—if there were not an executive officer of the board whose position is also that of the administrative head of the school system. On the one hand, it would not be desirable to return to the definition of the superintendency in terms of an autocratic paternalism. However, it would be dangerous to disperse authority within the school system to such an extent that the school board did not have to deal with the internal system through the medium of a single administrative officer.

A new design for the internal governance of the schools is essential if existing and emerging problems are to be adequately resolved. It seems inevitable that the superintendent will have to deal with officially designated councils of employees on the internal aspects of the school system, just as he deals with the school board on the external aspects. Such councils will enable employees to present their points of view regarding both the interpretation of the policies of the board and the development of operating procedures in accordance with the policies of the board as they relate to the employees' particular concerns. It is apparent that such developments will necessitate the allocation of larger amounts of staff time to administration. They should also eventuate in a greater exercise of professional experience and intelligence in the planning, evaluating, and coordinating functions of the school and improve the potential for the school system's adaptability to changing needs and technology. The superintendent and his assistants may also have to deal with councils of parents or other citizens in an endeavor to recognize and consider their interests as both policies and administrative processes are developed.

THE MANAGERIAL LEVEL

The details of organization of the managerial level will depend somewhat on the size and population of school districts. Although estimates vary, it would appear as though a school district that is large enough economically to provide the total range of services needed would have to have an enrollment of not less than 40,000 pupils. Regardless of the model which is adopted, the intermediate unit or the regional educational planning and service unit would have to serve at least this number of students to be an economical and effective agency. In many parts of the country there will obviously persist local school jurisdictions with far lesser numbers of pupils and, in the sparsely populated sections of the country, geographical barriers will continue to necessitate relatively small school jurisdictions in terms of population. Since, as previously indicated, such small jurisdictions cannot economically provide for the range of pupil services needed, some kind of district organization to provide cooperative services should be established. Decisions will have to be made, then, as to which services will be provided locally and which through the intermediate school district or regional educational planning unit.

In a school district with 40,000 or more pupils, there are two levels of concern in designing the managerial functions. One level will entail the organization of the central office staff to give effective leadership and provide for the proper utilization of resources for all of the schools of the districts. The second level will be that of the organization of managerial services for the local educational development units which could comprise the sub-districts of ~~the total~~ district. As previously defined, the local educational development units will comprise the high school attendance area and all of its feeder units. Although the size of local educational development units may vary, it would probably be most efficient and economical to consider them as roughly compromising a student population of about 10,000 (except in sparsely populated areas), approximately half of whom would be in grades kindergarten through six and roughly a fourth in each the junior and the senior high school grades.

Every school organization has to make provision for six separate but related areas of functions. These are: instruction, personnel, supportive services, facilities, business affairs, and research and informational services. Every school organization must also make provision for the involvement of staff in the development of programs, the analysis of needs, the evaluation of policies and practices, and the coordination of efforts among various levels of instruction and the different content areas.

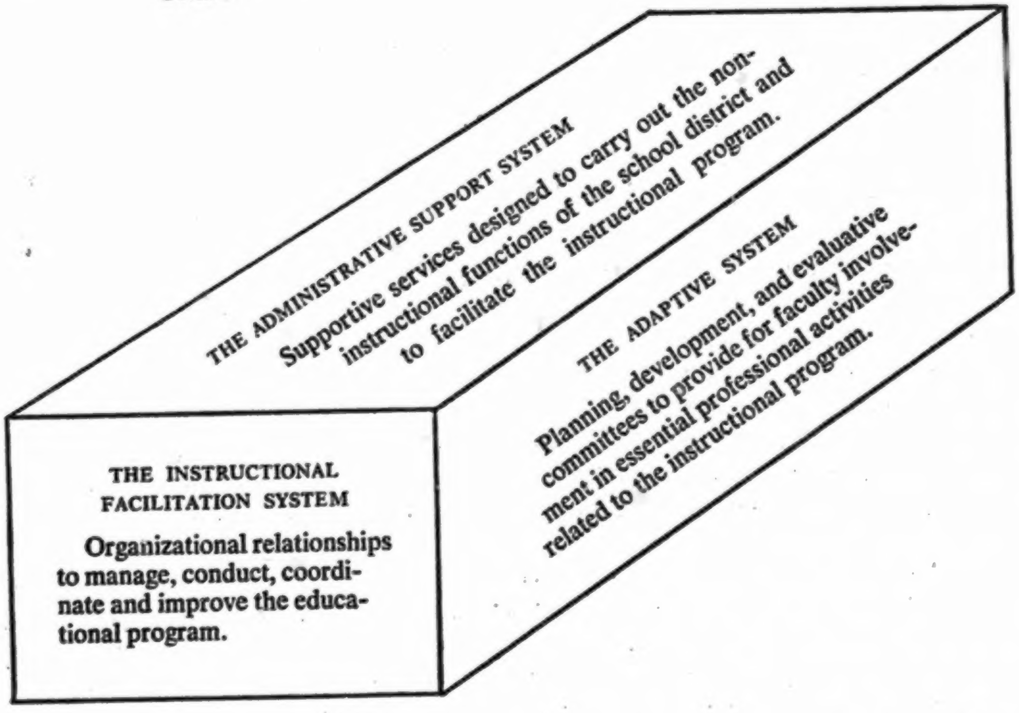
One of the most significant problems of organizational analysis is that of developing a true picture of what goes on, or should go on, in the school system in relation to the traditional organizational chart. Charts normally show the relationships of positions. But positions tend to be maintained because they are on the chart or because the incumbent has tenure or lengthy service to the district, rather than because they are functionally related to the tasks that must be performed. The so-called "scalar" or pyramidal chart is designed to express authority relationships within a hierarchical, paternalistic organization, and, in itself, can be a barrier to the effective utilization of the professional intelligence and competencies of personnel.[21]

A more functional description of essential managerial relationships is presented in Figure 6. In this three-dimensional chart, the school organization is presented to show the relationship of activities that must be performed rather than the authoritative chains of command. The front face of the cube shows that the primary focus of the organization is upon the instructional program and the organizational relationships which are essential to manage, conduct, coordinate and improve the program. The side of the cube shows the planning, development, and evaluative structure of offices and committees designed to provide for faculty involvement in the professional activities related to the instructional program. The top of the cube shows the supportive services designed to carry out the non-instructional functions of the school district and to facilitate the instructional program. The hidden sides might well represent the involvement of students, parents, and the general public in the school organization.

To maximize the utilization of resources in the future, the local school district must solve three basic managerial problems: (1) to determine the proper roles of managerial personnel in relation to the instructional program; (2) to develop new roles which provide the means for self-adjustment or adaptation of the school program to the changing needs both of society and of children and youth; and (3) to develop the internal means through which management itself can constantly appraise its roles and performance. More succinctly, in order of presentation above, these may be referred to as the (1) instructional facilitation system, (2) the adaptive system, and (3) the administrative support system.

Instructional Facilitation System. Although we live in a period of rapid change and pressure for innovation, one must acknowledge that every organization must give prior attention to the problems of its own maintenance and stability. *While new instructional systems are being developed to benefit the children of tomorrow, maximum protection and emphasis must be given to the educational opportunities provided* *for children today.* The problem which local school districts must work out is the manner in which they can use their resources most effectively to facilitate instruction and to provide the means to encourage the most effective teaching and learning possible. The evidence overwhelmingly points to the conclusion that most effective teaching takes place when (a) it is the central focus of attention within the school system and (b) the system provides adequate resource personnel to assist the teacher, to develop standards for effective instructional performance, to evaluate teaching effectiveness, and to develop the means for the constant "retooling" of teachers to enable them to keep abreast of contemporary developments and make applications of current knowledge to their instructional practices. This means, of course, that to achieve and to maintain instructional excellence, a district must provide funds for individuals who are not necessarily in direct contact with pupils and whose major function is to design—or to provide leadership in designing—the instructional systems, assist teachers in finding and developing instructional materials, engage in both planning and evaluative activities, and work with teachers through formalized in-service education programs and direct face-to-face contact. Such roles, inevitably, must replace the more traditional "supervisory" roles which are superimposed upon teachers rather than provided as an essential instructional resource arm *for* teachers.

Figure 6. *An Illustration of a Functional Educational Organization Chart*


THE ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT SYSTEM
Supportive services designed to carry out the non-instructional functions of the school district and to facilitate the instructional program.
THE ADAPTIVE SYSTEM
Planning, development, and evaluative committees to provide for faculty involvement in essential professional activities related to the instructional program.
THE INSTRUCTIONAL FACILITATION SYSTEM
Organizational relationships to manage, conduct, coordinate and improve the educational program.

It is entirely possible that the level of teacher preparation will improve, and the resources available to them through outside agencies, such as regional educational laboratories, will become sufficiently extensive that every, or almost every, teacher within the system can become a part of the instructional facilitative system at some time or to some degree.

To carry out this assignment, *it is essential that a department of instructional services be established as the key department of the managerial level of the system.* This department will have responsibility for determining the internal organization of personnel for instructional services, curriculum planning and evaluation, learning area specialists, special educational programs and services, guidance and counseling, health services, in-service education, and libraries and instructional materials centers. All of these areas are essential components of the services needed to facilitate the instructional program.

Adaptive System. Like human beings, organizations can lose their vitality, become sluggish, and fail to perform their roles with their full, potential effectiveness. As John Gardner has suggested, individuals and society must be concerned about their "self-renewal" if they are to function effectively in response to the challenges of the times. This analysis is certainly true for educational systems. Institutions are almost always slow in change, and large institutions are the most difficult to alter. Every school system—among all other types of organizations—needs to develop the mechanisms for self-renewal, for maintaining its constant adaptability to the educational needs of its environment and of its students. This mechanism is what I call "the adaptive system."

Any dynamic industrial concern today has its research and development department. The major function of such an agency is to conduct research that will enable it to change and improve its products, find new uses for its products, and to develop its technology so as to improve services to its clientele. Such departments are staffed by specialists who are specifically educated to perform their functions.

This has not been—and generally is not—the case in education, One significant reason for the slow pace of educational change in contemporary institutions is the fact that we have not separated the functions of educational change and adaptation from the functions of educational maintenance. The teacher who faces 30 to 35 children every hour of the day in the elementary school, or the principal who has a multitude of housekeeping chores to perform to keep his school in operation and to deal cordially with the public, or the central office person who keeps close check on various managerial details—none of these personnel has the time, the energy, nor perhaps the training to become change agents for the school system. If they spend their time on the problems of designing new instructional systems, they are not doing their jobs adequately for maintaining proper levels of instruction for the current crop of children, and vice versa. Of course, many do attempt to perform both roles, but in doing so, they permit their jobs to usurp their personal lives and deny themselves the opportunities they should have for recreation, for recouping their intellectual capital, and for the personal "self-renewal" which is vital to all professional endeavor.

The school district of the future, to be the kind of adaptive institution needed to serve a changing society, must have a department of research, information and development staffed with personnel who are trained to do the kinds of jobs such a department must perform. These jobs entail the continuing study of the effectiveness of the instructional program to determine which elements need to be maintained and which need to be improved, the constant search of research and current literature to keep instructional personnel informed on what is happening in education and to determine whether or not applications can and should be made to the local district, the evaluation of various aspects of the school program to inform personnel of their strengths and weaknesses, and to advise school boards and patrons of the successes and needs of the local school system.

The primary function, however, of such a department would be to utilize the best knowledge available to it to work with groups of educators to plan how instructional programs can be improved, to develop (engineer) new instructional systems, and to carry out the research and evaluation necessary to determine the effectiveness of the new systems and the modifications that need to be made before they can be applied generally to the whole system. *If we are to have effective, well-planned, purposive change within the school system, the roles on the managerial level that are needed to design, engineer, adapt, and evaluate changes for the school system must be created.*

Administrative Support System. Although all activities engaged in by the school system must relate in some ways to the central purposes of the schools, many activities are essential that are not directly involved in the instructional processes. The school district of the future needs to place these in their proper perspective. Business functions and personnel administration are in this category. The administration of the range of auxiliary services that are essential for maintaining the plants and providing services for teachers and pupils is a vital facilitating concern. *It is essential that these services be properly placed in the managerial organization so that they will support the administrative agencies designed to maintain and improve instruction and not get in their way or attempt to control them.*

The area of administrative support that needs most to be reconsidered in the future is that of the personnel department. In the past, such departments were concerned with the maintenance of personnel records, the selection of new personnel, and the management of welfare benefits for personnel. These functions will, of course, continue, but additional responsibilities must be assumed. As school systems become larger, appropriate policies and procedures for administering aspects of the personnel program are essential in order to maintain equity within the system and to facilitate the proper placement of personnel within the system. Salary policies and schedules must be developed, modified and applied. Employee classification systems must be developed to interrelate various kinds of work and so on.

More fundamental in personnel management than anything else, today, and probably in the future as well, is the development of adequate means for maintaining communication with personnel, to help them identify adequately with the school organization and to provide the procedures necessary to negotiate or bargain with personnel on various levels of the organization. As previously indicated, one of the central problems of the school board today is that, while engaging directly with teachers in negotiations, it is confusing its role as a policy making body with managerial functions that must be performed before it can adequately make its decisions. To rectify this situation, a new orientation to personnel management is essential, for labor negotiation is a function of management, and policy cannot adequately be made until the negotiation process has been completed or has entirely broken down.

An adequate administrative organization is a self-conscious system. It must constantly study itself, how it uses resources, and how it relates those resources to the essential functions of the organization. School systems have generally lacked the agencies necessary for the constant evaluation and analysis of how roles are performed and what resources are needed to accomplish specific ends. Some evidence exists, and more undoubtedly could be obtained, to indicate that frequently on matters such as budget-preparation more resources are allocated to the accomplishment of the job than are needed or reasonable in the light of other essential responsibilities of personnel. On matters of instructional planning and development, on the other hand, the resources are generally scarcer than required to do what needs to be done effectively. To put jobs into perspective and to analyze the relative merits of ends that are being served are obligations of a managerial or a systems analyst. The school districts of the future will need such analysts on their staffs to do the evaluation which is essential for maintaining their viability.

THE TECHNICAL LEVEL

The essential work of the organization is done on the technical level. One would expect that changes in the patterns of organization in school attendance centers would come slowly because so many of the factors related to the operation of the schools are built into the facilities and are not amenable to change until the facilities are changed.

Internal Organization. The question is frequently raised as to the most effective grade organization of schools. Although the junior high school pattern is the most prevalent one throughout the country, many school districts have not changed from the 8-4 plan either because they have had "sunk" costs in building facilities which dictated this organization or because of applied pressures resulting from college entrance requirements. Similarly, schools have been slow to experiment with other forms of organization, such as a 6-2-2-2 plan or a 4-3-3-2 plan, at least partly because of the already existent capital construction. The community college as a separate entity arose in part because of the inflexibility of the senior high school, and only subsequent to its emergence did it develop a philosophy that made it more than merely an extension of high school.

There is, actually, little evidence to suggest that one plan of organization is more effective than another, and it may be that other considerations should determine the grade pattern of the future. With the emergence of the educational park concept, some have come to believe that the total educational-recreational-aesthetic needs of the community can be better served through larger school units, containing multiple grade levels, with provisions for accommodating the needs of the non-school community without reducing the effectiveness of facility use and programming for the in-school population.

Although the educational park concept was developed in response to the challenge of segregation, it still remains one of the most promising developments in school organization that need further consideration. Its value lies in the centralization of facilities around which neighborhoods can be established. The school, with its varied use of facilities for adults as well as for children, can be better utilized to serve community needs as well as children's educational needs, thus enabling the community's investment to be used for more hours of the day and more weeks of the year. For the instructional program, the multiple grade levels of the educational park permit a greater variety of child services to be provided within the school and a greater number of specialized resources to be available to the teachers. In some communities, the educational park may well be the educational planning unit of the future, housing 5,000 to 10,000 students on a single site in grades from nursery school at least through senior high school.

School and Community Relations. Although the essential work of the schools takes place on the technical level, this level of operations is often effectively removed from direct communication with the public it serves, except through the indirect communication of children. As urbanization increases, the failure of schools to maintain adequate communication with parents and citizens within the neighborhood is more prevalent and leads to severe friction between neighborhood groups and the schools.

In the future, adjustments will have to be made if schools are to remain centrally focused upon the problems of the local areas which they serve. Local advisory committees, formally organized by legal arrangements, may become a necessity to avoid friction and the establishment of restrictive barriers between the schools and the communities they serve. One of the key functions of the leadership role of the principal of the individual attendance unit may be to work with a neighborhood advisory council to obtain the perspectives of parents and key citizens relative to educational plans and developments. At the same time, he should be in a position to keep them informed of educational needs and to help them understand the vital roles which schools play in the life of the community. Advisory councils may play an even more important role for local educational development units, not only meeting informally with administrative heads of such units but also having some quasi-formal roles in establishing local policies in accordance with general district policy and serving as a linkage between neighborhoods and the central board of education.

Educational Planning. Certainly, in the metropolitan school districts, educational planning will take place among the professional educators involved in each of the development units that serve the total educational needs from grades K through 12 for a particular geographical level. Councils of educators within these local units can and should work with representative citizens to maintain accountability to the public and to assure the maintenance of public interest and support in the schools. These units will undoubtedly have to have some professional staff members who serve all of the schools within the development unit and who are key personnel in the planning and evaluative activities for the schools.

Instructional Organization. Although it is not a part of the purposes of this paper to delineate patterns of instructional organization, some indication of the most promising may be desirable. The traditional concept of the hierarchical organization within each school building may no longer be adequate to perform the instructional functions with the degree of excellence desired. New patterns of organization will, undoubtedly, emphasize a form of collegial governance within each building, with professional personnel assuming a variety of responsibilities depending upon the roles they perform.

We probably will not be able to continue to afford an educational system based upon the traditional model of one teacher for one classroom with a limited number of children. Economic, and probably instructional, imperatives may require that instructional roles become differentiated, just as roles have been differentiated in medicine. It may be necessary to employ teams of instructional personnel composed of master teachers, teaching interns, para-professionals, technological associates and clerical aides. Such a team could become the instructional unit for a large block of children, reducing the costs and providing for more individualized instruction. The most expensive, fully prepared, master teacher would determine the proper instructional interventions for a large number of children, but many of the direct instructional services would be conducted under his supervision but by lesser trained and remunerated personnel. Those teachers who did not wish to assume the responsibility or to engage in the constant educational upgrading of master teachers would assume less well remunerated positions in the teaching team.

In this structure, the principal would be able to render better instructional leadership since the number of team leaders with whom he would have to be in interaction would be small, and together they could form a council to coordinate and direct the program. In addition to the instructional team members, the school staff would include special service personnel for special educational needs, guidance, instructional materials and resources, and so forth, thus enabling the teaching team to benefit from a variety of technical specialists whose primary responsibilities would be to assist instructional personnel in determining the proper levels of instruction and experiences for each child.

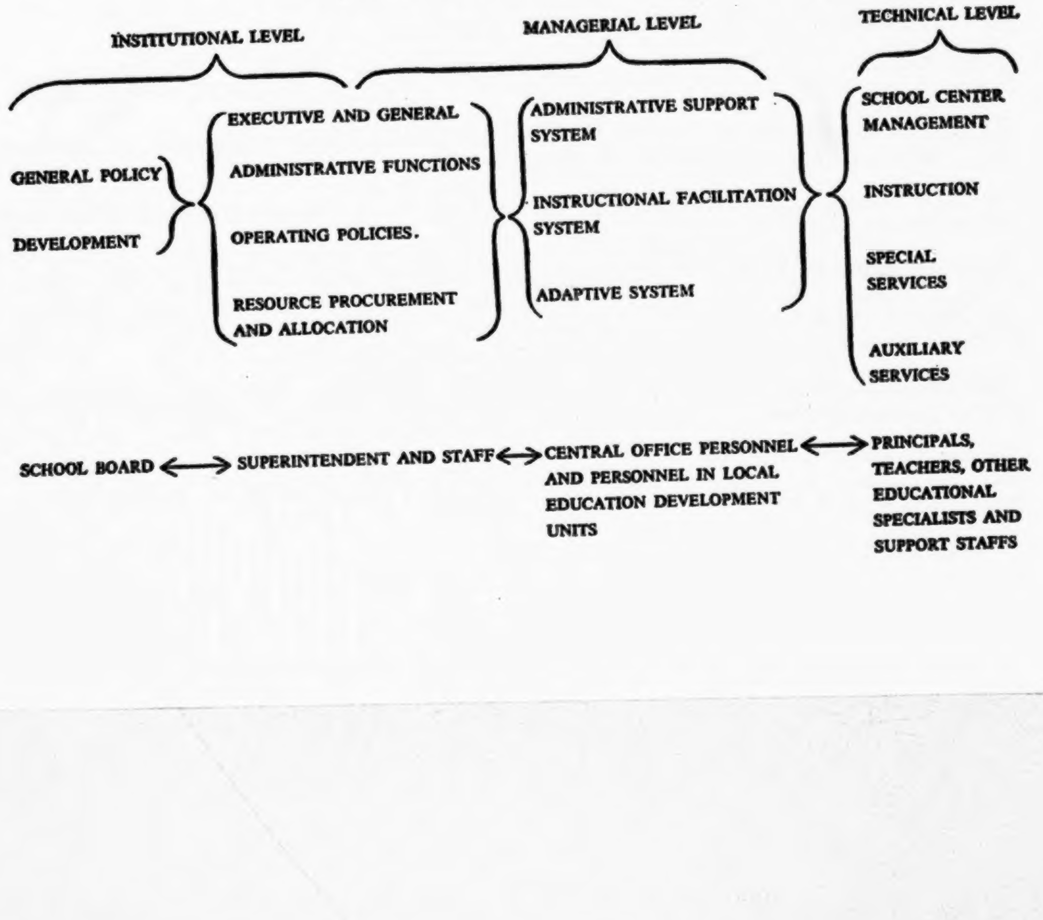
With the growing application of contemporary technology to education, there is increasing promise that the pattern of both the child's and the teacher's day in school will be different. Teachers will spend only part of their time working directly with children. The rest of the time they will be studying children's needs, developing the proper materials for them to use, and coordinating the activities of para-professional personnel. The child will have a diversified day, with individual study, use of individualized instructional aids such as teaching machines or computerized lessons, use of "canned" teaching materials such as films and taped TV programs, and both large and small group instructional activities.

The most significant shift that can take place on the technical level is that which changes the focus from passing through a prepared curriculum to an adaptation of the instructional program to the requirements of the human beings who pass through the schools. Progress will not be measured in terms of yearly promotions, but in terms of the continuous growth in mastery and achievement by each child. In a very real sense, this is the basic orientation and objective of the instructionally-centered school district.

SUMMARY

The basic design for the educational organization of the future is shown in Figure 7. The various levels of the organization are linked to one

Figure 7. *Generalized Design for the Administrative Organization for Education in the Future*


INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL
MANAGERIAL LEVEL
TECHNICAL LEVEL
GENERAL POLICY
DEVELOPMENT
EXECUTIVE AND GENERAL
ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS
OPERATING POLICIES.
RESOURCE PROCUREMENT AND ALLOCATION
ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT SYSTEM
INSTRUCTIONAL FACILITATION SYSTEM
ADAPTIVE SYSTEM
SCHOOL CENTER MANAGEMENT
INSTRUCTION
SPECIAL SERVICES
AUXILIARY SERVICES
SCHOOL BOARD
SUPERINTENDENT AND STAFF
CENTRAL OFFICE PERSONNEL AND PERSONNEL IN LOCAL EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT UNITS
PRINCIPALS, TEACHERS, OTHER EDUCATIONAL SPECIALISTS AND SUPPORT STAFFS

another in a school organization of sufficient size to provide for the varied needs of children as well as for the educational requirements of society. Where the school district cannot perform these functions, it should be linked to another agency such as the intermediate education or regional educational planning and service district, which will be established for the purpose of fulfilling those services and providing for those needs which cannot be encompassed effectively and efficiently in the smaller school district.

The central concern of the school organization is the provision of instructional services to those who need them. The structure which evolves can facilitate this end, or it can be restrictive. The structure, however, should not be the main concern. Good educational services can be provided in a poor structure, but they will be more expensive, and probably less effective. *The central concern must, however, be the procurement and continuous improvement of personnel who are competent to perform their roles and who are provided with the resources and the opportunities to do so.*

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CHAPTER 3

State Organization and Responsibilities for Education

Ewald B. Nyquist*

This chapter is concerned with the system of education at the state level—with the provisions for state governance and administration of education—and with the relationships to federal and local educational agencies.

It will be the basic premise of this paper that if state education departments and their governing boards are to count as seminal leadership forces in shaping education in the last third of the twentieth century, they must become constructively abrasive agents of deliberately contrived change and talented engineers of consent for reform. Under modern conditions, the only alternative to joining these new peer groups in American education (now engaged in the partnership management of innovation and in bringing about a favorable ecology for experimentation and research) is second-ratedness. Second-ratedness is the lot of those who never are the first to do anything or who never do anything as well as it can be done.

Some Basic Assumptions

In a day characterized by a breathlessness in pace of change and a national recognition of the need for further improvements that benefit humanity, when only the stable and unchanging are unreal and tradition has been defined as something we did last year and would like to do again, a premium is placed on organizational adaptability and versatility. Highly rigid and inflexible organizations can only react to change; *leadership agencies,* able to extrapolate from the present to the future and unafraid to look into the future to see what is in store, *dominate change, feel comfortable with it, and thereby shape it and master it.*

Despite recent improvements made in state education agencies that have been stimulated—and, to some extent fostered—by the massive entrance of the federal government into education, state boards of governance and their executive departments are still largely oriented toward the values of an agrarian society that no longer exists.

State education departments and their governing boards have not been as responsive as they should have been in coming to grips with the funda-

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mental educational issues within their presumed province. As Campbell and Sroufe have said:

> None of our traditional and justifiably cherished educational institutions have yet come fully to terms with the challenges presented by these influences. And, if we can be frank, state departments of education . . . may have accounted themselves even less well than other institutions in adapting to new responsibilities.[1]*

It is the responsibility of any state to ensure:

- That the people of the state are provided with opportunities for the highest possible quality of education;
- That these opportunities are made equally available to every individual wherever he may live in the state and without regard to creed, color, handicap, or economic circumstance; and
- That the resources of the state allocated to the attainment of these goals are used with the maximum efficiency and economy.

These goal-mandates are not new in origin. None of them has been perfected in any state. In any case, the times call for new ways in which to achieve them.

These fundamental responsibilities furnish the basic tripartite charge to any adequate system of state governance and administration of education and provide it with the scope of its authority for action and policy development. Any state having organizational, legal or employment arrangements—or even traditions or attitudes—which attenuate or inhibit the ability of a state board and its administrative arm to discharge these responsibilities fully, will have to recognize that these self-imposed handicaps also limit, or tend to limit, the quality, quantity, and efficiency of its educational system.

In short, this writer assumes and believes that there is a strong correlation between (1) the development of a state's educational system and its general level of quality, and (2) the leadership strength of its overarching superintendence focused in the state board and state education department.

The key characteristics of the nation at this point in time are: it is urban; it is affluent; it is relentlessly innovative; and it is highly technological. As a report of the Educational Testing Service recently put it:

> American majority opinion seems to be fairly well convinced that:
>
> . . . education is important; it is the principal determinant of individual and social progress.
>
> . . . education should be dynamic; it should incorporate as does the society of which it is a part, the rapid developments of our time in scholarship and technology.
>
> . . . education should be democratic; it should be available to all, early and continuously, and it should provide for individual differences and individual development.
>
> Given these commitments on the part of the great majority of the public, the directions of change in education, if not the rate, can be reasonably well predicted.[2]

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*Numbers refer to footnote references at end of Chapter 3.

Many of the directions of change in organization and control of education, in instructional patterns and facilities, and in students and teachers, have been considered in previous conferences and publications of *Designing Education for the Future*. Because decision making relating to changes in education is the fundamental business of state boards, state education departments, and chief state school officers, some important trends will be analyzed briefly in order to illustrate how and why decision making power in education is changing and why it is important to have strong superintendence of education at the state level.

Forces Shaping State Educational Leadership and Decision Making Power

Decision making is becoming more complex—involving the interaction of many variables and of many people and agencies. It is becoming more consensual in that authoritarian and paternalistic decisions flowing from remote heights of a steeply hierarchical system of centralized bureaucracy are no longer possible without the involvement, mutual consent, and agreement of others. Decision making is increasingly characterized by interdependence of peer agencies and superordinate and subordinate systems and organizations. All of this is not surprising—there is universal interest in education, and provision for it is now commonly accepted as a shared responsibility involving many partners.

Many factors, including those discussed in this section, have a central thrust that is forcing a redistribution of decision making power in American education and reshaping educational leadership. This decision making power is: (1) rising vertically to higher levels of government (regional, state, and federal) and is therefore becoming more centralized, and, (2) paradoxically, is being dispersed laterally, voluntarily or involuntarily, to other groups, lay, professional, and civil. In short, the forces behind these trends and concepts strongly suggest that: (1) the traditional concept of local control in education is becoming increasingly mythical, and (2) either the local school superintendency and the traditional state department of education and state superintendency as traditionally perceived are obsolete, or that many school and state superintendents are obsolete and what we are witnessing is a redefinition of professionalism at these levels.

With respect to the vertical rise in educational authority, it seems to be correlated with the new sources of financial support. Chandler has said:

> An important axiom in political science is that when one level of government is unable or unwilling to meet the desires and needs of people, assistance is sought from the next higher level of government.[3]

There is, as another author has stated, an "upward drift of decision making in the polity." And with respect to lateral dispersion of authority, there is increasing conflict between hierarchical control and the growing demand for colleague authority with adversary proceedings a result. Employees, most noticeably teachers, are demanding more colleague control in the operation of the schools. As Gittell, Hollander and Vincent, have stated in a study done on large cities:

> It was the civil rights groups in every city which challenged existing policies and reaffirmed that education was indeed a public function and, therefore, subject to public review . . . they raised significant questions regarding school policies and policy-making . . . these groups have demanded greater public participation. . . . Their pressures may also be the source for change in the highly centralized professional structure.[4]

As the ensuing discussion will show, unilateral authoritarian decisions are no longer possible but are being displaced by procedures and relationships which stress action by consensus. These developments require a new collegial role for administrators and boards of education as *primus inter pares,* namely as leaders among equals in many situations, particularly with reference to the disadvantaged from the indigenous communities and in dealing with teacher groups or unions.

What are some grave forces of consequence that: (1) compel revision in priorities and adjustment in traditional attitudes of conducting the business of educational government and management; (2) are forcing a redistribution of decision making power and a redefinition of professionalism; (3) place increasing constraints around an outmoded independence; yet, paradoxically, (4) simultaneously enlarge the powers of decisive leadership for those who recognize root-causes and need for change and are willing to share responsibility?

INTERLOCKING COMPLEXITY

Just as we live in a culture which is polarized around the scientific revolution and the scientific method, so we also live in one which puts a premium on organization, on system, on cooperation between units having common purposes or overlapping interests. It is a day of calculated interdependence, whether we like it or not. The life we lead today has been made possible largely by cooperation, by regimentation in certain respects by arranging interlocking complexities, by consciously making things more complicated. And the reason is simple. The complexity of modern society requires a pooling of knowledge and a sharing of resources to achieve a given goal. Not enough educational leaders realize that they can no longer preside over institutions in splendid isolation, for, up to now at least, education has been a many-splintered thing. Not enough people are prepared, by education, experience, or inclination, to cope with the often bewildering interdependency of their environment and to subordinate their special vested institutional and agency interests in an effort to place community, regional, state or national interests paramount.

Traditional forces of institutional autonomy are being displaced by emerging patterns which emphasize interdependence rather than independence in the expansion and improvement of education.

Local public schools, colleges, and state education departments are finding that they need to cooperate more effectively, not only with each other, but also with other agencies and groups in order to make education more effective. They must learn to establish constructive relationships with the federal government; with private and parochial educational institutions; with private and public state and federal agencies in such fields as health, welfare, housing, and community planning; with emerging industrial-social complexes involved in education; with business, labor, and the poor from our urban indigenous communities; with entangling alliances involving federally funded supplementary centers and regional educational laboratories; and with other educational resources which have hitherto stood on the periphery of the formal teaching and learning process, such as museums, libraries, educational television and the performing arts.

These are just some new interlocking complexities for administrators to cope with and for which their education, previous experience, or native inclination has probably not prepared them. How many are willing to recognize, as John Kenneth Galbraith has said, that industry, state, and education are steadily being woven into something like a seamless garment? Educators no longer walk alone. The day of the fortress school is over. The interlocking complexities of modern society are an inescapable part of our future. Education is everyone's business.

In short, the community of education is expanding rapidly—in the number and kinds of pluralistic publics, institutions, and agencies actively engaged peripherally or centrally in the teaching and learning process and who want a piece of the action. There is a bright future for complexity—and the power of democracy is increased by sharing it.

EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONS

A second trend concerns employer-employee relationships in school systems. Largely because education has become recognized as important and because the educational community has become so large that its membership is a new social and political force, teachers (not surprisingly) have become more militant in asking for a voice in determining their conditions of employment including working arrangements, salaries, and their role in the development of educational policy. In short, it can be predicted that the entrance of industry and other agencies into educational development and instructional technology, the civil rights movement, the large scale entrance of the federal government into education, and the new virile and organized aggressiveness of the teaching fraternity will not only bring about a redistribution of the decision making power in education at all levels of governance, but also—what is more important—these movements may rank higher in their potential impact for enhancing the quality and equality of educational opportunity than any other influences which can be mentioned.

The growing issue of unionism among teachers; the more militant nature of their traditional professional associations; and the mounting competition between unions and professional associations for the affections of teachers are demanding creative leadership at state and local levels.

Several factors explain the growing militancy of teachers and their organized drive for collective bargaining. To quote from a recent publication:

> For one thing, the changing composition of the labor force has caused union leaders to look toward white-collar and professional workers who have traditionally been difficult to organize. Public school teachers have been chosen as a group which, if successfully organized, could improve the image of unions in the eyes of other white-collar workers. Another factor is the consolidation of school districts. This has further separated the classroom teacher from the decision-makers, adding to his feeling of need for protection.
>
> Large districts will also be more subject to organizing activities because of economies of scale.
>
> The rising percentage of our labor force working as government employees has caused an over-all drive for negotiation procedures for this group, and no doubt this has stimulated teacher organizations to request similar practices. Finally, some commentators believe that the increasing percentage of male teachers and the decreasing turnover rate indicates a greater career commitment among teachers.[5]

There are other factors which make teachers and other nonteaching personnel increasingly militant. There has been a radical shift in the etiquette of social protest—nonviolent civil disobedience has been widely accepted as an appropriate means for protesting social wrongs, as witness the civil rights movement and Berkeley. As has been pointed out in a recent article by James Cass and Max Birnbaum,[6] teachers have always occupied an equivocal position in our society—and society has always been ambivalent about its teachers. Society has traditionally paid its respects to teachers in rich rhetoric but denied them the salaries and facilities to match these lofty protestations. The growing impersonality of the school system—as it has become larger, more highly structured administratively, and engaged in a form of mass production—has further alienated the teacher. Moreover, teachers have found it increasingly difficult to identify with the communities in which they teach. They often do not or cannot afford to live in them; the large cities are anonymous. In addition, alienation of teachers has been stimulated by the increasing demands made on schools to solve all of society's ills: not only reading deficiency, but racial desegregation, the depressive effects of life in the inner city, the evils of drugs and alcohol, and the subtleties of sex, and it seems to be the task of the schools—more than of the parents—to see to it that everyone gets to Harvard. Often the teacher has neither the training nor the experiences to cope with these tasks. Finally, as Cass and Birnbaum have stated, education is attracting a new breed of teachers. Better educated than in the past, they are less dedicated, more pragmatic, have a surer sense of their own professional competence, and resent non-professional duties and the inadequacies of time, facilities, and administrative support. In short, teachers have become more inner-directed, have turned for support and security to their own militant organizations.

But there are other factors as well, usually not mentioned in the literature, or at least not in the terms used here. Too many school boards and administrators view themselves and teachers in a master-slave relationship. In other cases, administrators suffer from a credibility gap. On the one hand, superintendents publicly profess the highest importance of a good teaching staff (as they should), and yet, on the other hand, are ineffectual by reason of lack of understanding, appropriate training or persuasiveness with their school boards, in creating those modern conditions of employment for teachers which would permit them to exercise their skills to the fullest in the teaching and learning process.

The generalized restlessness among teachers, as is true with students at all levels and in the Negro community, is a protest or revolt against unenlightened authority, hierarchical rigidity, and the impersonal goals of remote, centralized, self-protecting bureaucracy. There are groups of wrath all over the country. Students, Negroes, faculties all want a share of the responsibility for determining how their lives are to be affected. They are importuning, sometimes with a "touch-football activism," for representative participation in the decision making process which affects their very destinies.

The role of the state and local superintendency in collective bargaining negotiation with teachers is still to be clarified. Most administrators are utterly bewildered by this new militant thrust of teacher unions and professional teacher organizations—and there is no real difference between the two in strategies and technique. One should know, too, that teacher unions generally go for the jugular. They insist on negotiating with the power point, the state or local board or political leader that has or can provide the *money*. This ordinarily leaves out the timid superintendent in collective bargaining.

If the superintendency—both at the state and local levels—is not to become obsolete, there is need for a redefinition of professional responsibilities, a clear understanding of them, and, for future administrators, a graduate education different from that generally provided today in our institutions of higher learning. Too few administrators have had a course in labor relations, for instance.

Thus, there is in the new teacher militancy a real possibility of redistributing the traditional decision making power in education. In many instances, the state or local superintendency is being by-passed. In others, meeting the demands of teachers means that the margin of funds usually set aside to meet other emergencies or to use as risk capital in innovative ventures during the year is absorbed. The choices have been circumscribed. An important reason why categorical aid will tend to increase faster than general state aid for education is that general aid today may furnish a mortgage on the future of education reform by virtue of the excessive salary claims of militant, organized teachers.

We should be reminded that the demands of teachers unions are not always cloaked in virtue. In certain situations too much readiness to concede, or lack of foresight on the part of the school board and the superintendent, has resulted in inflexible working arrangements which have effectively stymied subsequently needed innovation in the school systems.

Finally, the new militancy will eventually result in statewide negotiation rather than district-by-district activity. Florida and New Mexico are cases in point. It is a wise state education department that is aggressive in developing legislation covering the right of teachers to negotiate and bargain collectively in order to contain this new and unfamiliar militancy in constructive channels which avoid the disorderly disruption of the educational process.

The fact should be noted that noninstructional employees are rapidly becoming organized as well. Disenchanted, unionized school bus drivers can probably close schools faster than alienated teachers. In short, reforms and new administrative astuteness are needed at local and state levels.

Racial Integration and Civil Rights

There is another trend causing a redistribution of decision making power in education and a redefinition of professionalism in administration. A stench in the nostrils of the national community is the gaping distance between our professed historical belief in equality of access to educational opportunity for all our children and youth, on the one hand, and our actual provisions for what is usually called, in a transport of euphemism, the disadvantaged, on the other. And let us not delude ourselves as to who the disadvantaged are: They are primarily the American Negro but include many others. We need to develop, as someone has said, a special capacity for outrage at the injustice done to the "other Americans".*

A baseball pitcher who refuses to become superannuated, Satchel Paige, once remarked, "Don't never look back—something may be gaining on you." And out of the folklore of the Jews, persecuted since time immemorial, comes a penetrating saying: "How terrible is the past that awaits us." And Jefferson it was who said, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." Imbedded in these related wisdoms is the warning that unless we move with a considerably faster pace than the gradualism now characteristic of us, to make up for accumulated injustices in the past; unless we give immediate practical effect to our historical passion for equality; unless we recognize that the *greatest need of the Negro* (and of all other disadvantaged) in redressing his grievances of the past and his appalling disadvantage of the present *is more and better education*—what up to now has been largely nonviolent and doctrinal action will become more violent and visceral. A recent advisory report to the federal government on civil disorder is to the point.

There is a rising level of educational expectations among those now disadvantaged by reason of prejudice and poverty. A period of continued restlessness and conflict can be expected, caused on the one hand, by mounting discontent, cynicism, and the impatience of the disadvantaged—who have been oppressively colonized in ghettoes—to achieve equality, and, on the other, by a fear of dispossession, social disruption, and change among white middle-class established groups who already know the advantages of abundance and opportunity.

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*See Michael Harrington, *The Other America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962).

But the words of a recent author should be remembered:

> That's how it's always been in this country . . . the newly franchised citizen, angry as hell and busting the system—that's the guy who revives . . . our national self-respect.[7]

We are confronted with the number one problem today in building a better nation: Improving the quality and opportunity of education for the disadvantaged. As Professor Cremin of Columbia's Teachers College has said, any system of universal education is ultimately tested at its margins. *What is or is not done for the education of the physically, socially, and educationally handicapped—those who have hitherto stood on the periphery of our concerns—will determine the effectiveness of the entire system.*

There are two aspects to the civil rights movement as it affects education: desegregation, which is basically an administrative problem, and integration, which is an educational one.

Desegregation is a process of eliminating the high concentration of Negro or other minority children in a few schools. Despite the emotion and tension aroused in doing so, once a determination has been made to end segregation, it is primarily administrative and mechanical to carry it out.

But integration is something different, by far. An integrated education is not the mere mixing together of children from different backgrounds. For mixing to have educational value, it must be reinforced by the attitudes and behaviors of teachers and administrators, by the content of the curriculum and of textbooks, by the experience of the children outside the classroom, by the color complexion of the teaching force and administrative staff, by better illustrative materials supplied by business and industry.

What then is integrated education? *It is a series of experiences in which the child learns that he lives in a multi-racial society, in a multi-racial world, a world which is largely non-white, non-democratic, and non-Christian, a world in which no race can choose to live apart in isolation or be quarantined by the rest.* It is one that teaches him to judge individuals for what they are rather than by what group they belong to. From this viewpoint, he learns that differences among peoples are not as great as similarities, and that difference is a source of richness and value rather than a thing to be feared and denied. And these things can be taught in every classroom even where all the children are of the same color, class, and creed. Integration can thus occur anywhere.

Segregation may not be an issue in some communities but it must be kept in mind that integration is an issue wherever there are people. The obligation to see that the students in the schools are prepared to live in a highly mobile, multi-racial, multi-cultural, integrated society exists wherever people are employed or live, even in the all-white antiseptic suburbs and in states where there are few Negroes.

Let the last point be stressed. In response to a recent invitation to send teachers and administrators to institutes on integration, declinations were received from school districts which gave as their reason, "integration doesn't affect us, we have no Negroes."

The reason all of the current concern with the disadvantaged, including the massive influx of federal, state and local funds, has not done much good so far in solving problems of the disadvantaged, is that educators have generally gone on with the usual attitudes and methods. Are they muscle- and mind-bound with tradition?

Something should be said about the virulent, anti-white pyrotechnics of the Black Power movement, which is, of course, an attempt to remedy the historical political powerlessness of the American Negro, who has no "usable past" or sense of prideful identity. No state board or superintendent can espouse the thrust of the unrepresentative Black Power movement which seeks to isolate the American Negro from the rest of our society. However sympathetic one may be with the motivations which cause it, this self-alienation is every bit as repugnant as the prejudice of our white society which has ghettoized the American Negro. And there is another reason for rejecting the Black Power view: it gives too many timid superintendents and board members easy relief from tackling the most complex and sensitive issue of the day.

While housing and employment are also ingredients in the problem of achieving integration, education is the chosen instrumentality which must carry the main burden. In any case, absence of adequate effort in other sectors only makes it more urgent for education to lead. And if educators and lay boards do no choose to lead, their choices will be made for them.

Too few state boards and departments of education have taken the initiative or done anything at all about planning for correcting racial imbalance or for integration. It is virtually certain that the federal government will intervene.

THE NATIONAL INTEREST AND CREATIVE FEDERALISM

The most significant development in American education is the increased awareness of education's importance for, and in the achievement of, our national goals. Education has a first priority. One result is the emergence of the federal government in a clearly strengthened role in financing education and of a national commitment to raising the quality of our educational enterprise.

The availability of massive categorical federal aid to correct areas of critical weakness forces new relationships. Indicative these days of the concern with the meaning of the federal government's growing participation in education is the preoccupation with the term, "creative federalism." It conceives of a partnership, a family of governments, a federal-state-local sharing of responsibility, a joint effort, and mutual development of new activities, rather than a strict separation of powers and direct federal action. It acknowledges the importance of state and local levels of governance with their accompanying powers and responsibilities, but affirms the primacy of the federal government. The concept presumes to be more sensitive to the "rapidly changing pressures and powers in an increasingly pluralistic society." Power and control in education are not a fixed absolute pool, a closed universe, a static commodity, a defined quantum of power. The entrance of the federal government into education does not diminish the power of the states or localities; it enlarges it.

The new notion of federalism calls for a sharing of responsibility for carrying out an important public purpose which all have in common and which none could achieve as well without the cooperation of the others. It is mutually enriching and has a multiplier effect on its participants. It depends upon cooperation, creative tension, conflict, and constructive criticism for its continued viability.

There is no mystery about why the federal government is assuming a much larger role in financing education, tending to displace, somewhat, the role of the states. For one thing, too many states have abdicated their powers by failing to exercise them and have forced their people to turn to Washington for help and services their states have ignored or refused to provide. Secondly, in our increasingly complex and interlocking society, some problems that once could be dealt with on a state basis have flowed over state lines and have had to be handled on a regional or national basis.

Aid from Washington is in the form of categorical aid. It focuses on critical areas of weakness which it is in the national interest to correct. Superintendents of schools as a group do not like categorical aid, not so much because of the red-tape involved as of the stricter accountability requirements which accompany federal grants and monies for specific purposes.

While in the long run, general aid or block grants for education may well be legislated by Congress, narrow categorical aids, such as in the recent Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), probably will never be abandoned. In the short run, one can expect to see more federal legislation which gives to states and localities, monies for special purposes. Why? Because states and local systems cannot be trusted uniformly to remedy the weaknesses which exist. They have not done too well on their own with the intense urban problems and the municipal overburden of the large cities—with those hardest and the costliest to educate. They have not glorified themselves as educators with success in teaching the disadvantaged. They have not been much better in putting the American Negro on an equal footing with others. They have done their historical share in tranquilizing the poor, giving them answers instead of teaching them to ask questions.

Moreover, there is more political income for congressional representatives in passing categorical measures in education. Voting constituencies to be affected are more easily identified for one thing. Secondly, it is easy to be for education in general. Almost everybody believes in it. It requires more stature to identify specific priorities. Finally, legislators can more readily ask for performance data, for evidence that educational effectiveness has been increased, that federal aid has done some good. In short, legislators can more easily hold educators more accountable for the funds they receive if they pass measures which are for specific purposes.

This habit of Congress to legislate federal aid to correct areas of critical weakness is one which is rapidly catching on at the state level as well, and for the same reasons. Politicians in the states have discovered that quality education is not only in the interests of society and individual welfare; one can also seek and retain legislative office on the basis of supporting education. And they are tired of hearing the cry for more money for education without being able to see performance data or even that some glaring problems are being tackled, let alone licked. To put it inelegantly, while legislators are putting their money where educational mouths have been for a long time, the reverse is also true: legislators are now putting their mouths where their money is.

There are still many boards and superintendents (and state education departments) who regard federal aid as tainted money and who feel that the first kiss is going to result in total surrender.

A recent passage in the *Atlantic Monthly* is also suggestive:

> 'Creative Federalism' is a process by which a Southern Governor kicks hell out of the Washington Administration with both feet while holding out both hands for Federal aid. It is a neat trick calling for acute balance and considerable verbal dexterity.[8]

In any case, whether or not one subscribes to the concept of "creative federalism," whether or not one strongly affirms the sovereignty of the states, it is well to keep in mind the words from a report of the Committee for Economic Development:

> The legal framework of federalism, as a system of "distributed self-government," and the fine distinctions drawn in interpreting the United States Constitution are matters of profound concern to the American people. But pragmatic considerations often supersede legal and philosophical arguments. In the longer run the role of the states in the federal system will increasingly be determined by the capability with which they function and the vigor with which they meet their obligations[9]

To sum up, then, some conclusions to be drawn from the new national commitment to education and the concept of creative federalism are:

- There is a new partnership of shared responsibility for education.

- Decision making power in education is increasingly rising to state and especially to federal levels. Law-makers and governmental bureaucracies are increasingly designating the ports to which our ships are sailing. There are more hands on the tiller.

- If local school superintendents and state education departments plan wisely, they will find their leadership powers enhanced for improving the quality and opportunity of education. Because they have greater resources, they have greater freedom and more choices to innovate.

- More than ever before, elected political representatives are interested in education. Traditionally, educators have remained disdainfully aloof from the dusty plains of the political arena. The new era calls for more aggressive ways to interpret education and educational needs to our political leaders, to interpret and exploit in mutually profitable ways their political instincts, and to relate more closely to the political process. This will have to be done at the same time that education is arduously protected, as it has been historically, from the incursions of purely partisan purpose. The new Education Commission of the States provides one instrumentality through which educators and political leaders can relate each other's interests in beneficial ways.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Accompanying the mounting financial support of education, from all sectors has come a predictable heightened interest in the increased educational effectiveness and quality which the new monies are supposed to produce. Some educators may prefer to call the process of measuring educational effectiveness, "evaluation." To sharpen the issues, others choose to label it "providing accountability" or "exercising quality control."

There are two aspects to accountability in education: (1) Have the funds been spent for the purposes intended? and (2) What effective use has been made of them? These are the two fiscal and educational aspects. No one can deny or defensibly protest that one should be held fiscally accountable for money received and spent. But educators, because they deal with a largely intangible product, are not quite as accustomed as many to providing a full reckoning for funds received. Education is too often thought of as in a class with the American flag, baseball, and motherhood—they have a sanctity which should go unexamined and convey a sense of inviolability.

States and local schools, public or private, are now put on notice: One sure way, from now on, to incite a mutiny of the bountiful is for educational administrators not to try as hard as they can to tease out all the objective evidence they can that program goals are being met—that public funds are being spent wisely, that benefits are comparable to costs. With the increase in local, state, and federal financing of education, the question looming in the minds of civil executives and legislative representatives at all levels is this: Since they and the public are willing to provide funds for building quality in education, what real evidence can educators provide them to show that the educational system is doing the job expected of it?

Providing a heightened educational accountability to the public for our educational stewardship will require new attitudes and techniques. Evaluation has become a major challenge to the profession. And applying cost-benefit analysis to soft services such as education is not easy.

The cost-benefit approach is spreading rapidly in education and it is likely to spread more rapidly where federal funds are concerned for two reasons as stated in a recent report: (1) Washington has a ready example of military application of cost-benefits thinking; and (2) the greater the distance between the source of money and the people who are actually spending it, the greater the desire for objective proof of effectiveness. The funding source cannot monitor the spending by everyday observations, as the local taxpayers feel they can monitor what their community schools are doing.

The Role of State Education Agencies*

What about state education agencies? How well prepared are they to assist in giving practical effect to the new mandates in education?

As the federal interest in education has increased and as local school systems have confronted problems beyond their capacity to cope with effectively, the need for re-evaluation and readjustment of the role of the state education agency has grown. No event better illustrates this need than the shift in position by James B. Conant. At the 1964 annual conference of the Council of Chief State School Officers, he indicated that as late as five years ago he would have advocated that local boards of education were the keystone to educational policy and that state departments of education were just to be "tolerated." "Now," he said, "I have changed my mind." In his book, *Shaping Educational Policy,* he wrote:

> What is needed are strong state boards of education, a first-class chief state school officer, a well-organized state staff, and good support from the Legislature.[10]

The reason for this need rests on more than the superficial fact that the state is in the middle between the local level of administration and the federal government. The state provides a broader base for educational leadership and planning than is possible at the local level, yet one which is far closer to the local school or to the local college than the federal government. It makes possible a continuity of leadership and breadth of perspective directly responsive to regional variations, conditions, and needs. The state is uniquely equipped to provide leadership in planning, formulate policies, conduct research, encourage experimentation, make decisions and take action on a scale not so limited as to be fragmentary, transient, and localized—nor so vast as to be remote, impersonal, and conducive to the development of a bland and monolithic conformity.

SOME IMPEDIMENTS AND CONSTRAINTS

Many states, however, are still poorly equipped to perform effectively the vital role which they must assume in education. Few states, for example, have a state board with the prestige, the caliber of lay members, or the broad overall authority for education that the responsibilities call for.

There seems to be a pecking order among governing educational boards at the state level: Usually, state university boards rank first in prestige; the state boards for state colleges second; boards for the community colleges next; and state boards of education for elementary and secondary education either last or just below those for state colleges.

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*The term as used here refers to the *state board of education,* the *chief state school officer* who is its executive (usually called the state superintendent or commissioner of education), and the *state department of education,* operating under the direction of the Commissioner and comprising the professional staff. The terms "agency" and "department" are often used interchangeably.

Some state education departments are poorly staffed, too highly bureaucratized, and politically dominated. Some are characterized by intellectual incest: the personnel, in training and experience, seem to have come from the state's own educational system, and often from small school systems. Their qualifications show little outbreeding with business and industry, subject matter disciplines, and diversified provenance.

Goldhammer and his colleagues, in their report on a recent study of 22 state education departments, stated that in all but three the leadership of the department was judged to be inadequate by superintendents of schools. With reference to political interference or domination, these authors concluded:

> To most local superintendents in the sample, the problems of the state departments of education arise from three primary sources. First, the state departments of education are looked upon as being too deeply involved in politics, particularly in those states where the state superintendent of public instruction is elected by the people or appointed by a political official. There is some feeling that political concerns restrict the effective leadership of state superintendents. . . . It is also felt that the political concerns of department personnel interfere with their assuming adequate professional roles and responsibilities.
>
> Where the state superintendents are concerned about their political relations, there is a feeling that the state departments of education avoid effective involvement in important issues and side-step strong leadership either in the development of adequate legislative programs or the formulation of major approaches to the solution of educational problems, or both. One group of superintendents charged that because the state superintendent is elected, the entire apparatus of the state department of education is involved in his re-election for a period of six months prior to the election while the provision of services to the school districts ceases.[11]

The two other sources of inadequacy mentioned by the authors were the lack of legislative support because the departments had a low status in the state government, and, secondly, the personnel employed.

Budgets are usually inadequate, and restrictions in expenditures make even available funds difficult to use effectively. The conditions of employment, personnel policies, salary schedules, and travel regulations—often geared to state agencies not having comparable professional responsibilities—make hard and frustrating the recruitment and retention of qualified personnel. State superintendents or commissioners of education are seldom paid salaries as high as those paid to the large city superintendents in their own states. In the face of these conditions, state education departments have been flooded with new administrative responsibilities for federal programs. They often find themselves with more money than talent.

Internally, some state education departments are plagued by antiquated structure and organization; others operate without benefit of fully developed research and data systems or without adequate provisions for statewide study, evaluation, and planning; most lack appropriately prepared and experienced personnel in numbers sufficient to achieve and sustain desired levels of leadership and service. And without all of these, of course, there can be no vision, no ability to point to a better way or to help others see what is possible—no capacity to raise local levels of educational expectations.

Too many departments, like state legislatures, are rurally oriented and lack the stature, inclination, and competence to deal with urban education—the intense, concentrated problems of large cities, including high costs, racial imbalance, organized and militant teacher groups, and the disadvantaged. And too few departments have any function in higher education, which makes more difficult the administration of certain federal acts (the Vocational Education Act of 1963, for one) and the fostering of cooperation between different components of the educational system.

One of the administrative problems plaguing the U.S. Office of Education is the great range in competence of the several state education agencies to provide the kind of innovative and creative leadership required today.

Are there too many departments over their heads in giant problems of national importance and up to their knees in administrative midgets? Diversity, of course, is always necessary, but diversity should not mean general weakness or rich variety in poor quality. Recognizing the need for state education agencies to be stronger if they are to play the central role they, themselves, expect to play and which is expected of them by others, the federal government provided funds in Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) to strengthen the leadership capacity of state education departments. While these funds provide a fine opportunity to make departments as strong in practice as they are presumed to be in theory, too many state education departments primarily expanded their traditional functions, (regulatory, operational, service, and public support and cooperation) thus suggesting that they were trying to make a soft lunar landing in a horse and buggy, instead of trying to probe the future with a spaceship designed as a developmental vehicle. Developmental activities deserve the highest priority, with a particular emphasis on comprehensive planning and evaluation capability, or on those things which lead to artful navigation of areas of ignorance.

Campbell and his colleagues, on the basis of a recent study of state education departments, commented in far less optimistic terms than had state commissioners of education on the use to which they had put Title V ESEA funds:

> We have indicated previously our concern that the funds, especially in smaller state departments of education, were being used chiefly to provide more of the traditional services. Insufficient attention has been paid, we feel, to those activities included under the broad heading of research and development, and public information and support. Overmuch attention has been concentrated on activities such as consultation to local districts.
>
> Further, we are now concerned that many departments seem intent upon providing new or extended services with the same personnel, or more of the same kind of personnel . . . they provided virtually no evidence that they have been considering procedures which might develop new sources, new career programs, or new inducements to attract top educators with a variety of talents.[12]

Unless states are strong in their educational leadership, they can expect to witness a decline in state-local relationships and a proportionate growth in direct-line communication and administration between local agencies (especially the large cities) and the federal government. The question at this point of time hangs delicately in the balance. The growth of the federal government's influence in education—meaning its direction and control—will only occur to the extent that the states neglect to exercise their responsibilities as well as their rights. One is the obverse side of the other. As stated earlier, educational interests sooner or later turn toward those governmental sources willing to provide support and sound advice and away from those which abandon their powers or fail to exercise them.

It is not suggested that the federal government should be a minor, junior partner in education, as some of the major federal spokesmen for education so coyly and disarmingly have put it. The state can maintain an equal partner position only if it leads boldly, imaginatively, and creatively.

In the words of John Fischer, President of Columbia's Teachers College,

> State departments of education . . . are finding that it is not enough piously to assert that in the American educational system the state is the sovereign authority. The sovereign is now called upon to be also a leader, and to some state officers the call comes as a shock. . . . . There can be sound and effective federal-state partnership only where the state agency is prepared to meet the federal agency at a comparable level of professional judgment and performance.[13]

An exaggerated emphasis on regulatory and supervisory responsibilities and on following the right procedure instead of seeking the right result, puts a premium on being second-rate. Instead of being inverted Micawbers, waiting around for something to turn down, state education departments today must be a moving, creative spirit and an agent of constructive change. Already significant strengthening of the state education department is under way, thanks to the nature of the times, candid self-examination, the sudden discovery of education by the people as of prime importance, and the help of federal funds.

THE EMERGING ROLE

I would suggest that in the new partnership, education is a local operational responsibility, a state function, and a national concern. The role of the federal government is to identify national goals and needs in education; to provide massive infusion of supporting funds; and to evaluate our total effort as a nation.

The role of the states is to provide diversity in leadership; to organize and coordinate an effective educational system; to establish a sound foundation program of financial support; to provide efficient coordination and distribution of funds; to establish minimum standards for achievement and quality controls; to lead in long-range planning; to conduct, cooperate in, and encourage research; to stimulate innovation; to assist localities in evaluating results; to develop good information systems on the facts and conditions of education; and to provide incentives to local school systems to go beyond a minimal performance.

The local school system has the obligation of making the most imaginative and efficient use of the funds available from the locality, the state, and the federal government. Citizen participation and close cooperation with a variety of other social and educational agencies are essential. So is the achievement of adequate school size in order that a broad educational program can be maintained and choices in offerings made available to suit individual student interests. Local school systems, too, must have the greatest freedom possible to rise above any minimal standards established by the state and the federal governments.

Irresponsible local school systems, on the other hand, will disturb the steady-state, the equipoise in the new federal-state-local partnership. If local school systems do not set high enough standards for themselves, the state and federal governments will certainly do so.

Those local school systems which have the greatest measure of local control and autonomy are precisely those which, by any measure, are the lighthouse school districts, the pilot situations, those which are most innovative and imaginative and provide a beam for the rest. Independence and freedom of choice come with the achievement of quality. Excessive dependence on state and federal governments and the loss of local initiative result from dismal performance.

The state is the key to securing a proper balance of strengths amongst the local, state, and federal agencies composing what will increasingly become a calculated interdependence in education—a partnership of shared responsibility. The state that is strong in providing quality education and in giving direction to its educational system need not be fearful of having to assume an inferior role, either in partnership with the federal government or with other states in regional cooperative ventures.

There is, also, a special role which a state must play today: It is to maintain a diversity in local education in the face of pressures fostering growing uniformity and nationalization of the schools. The causes of nationalization and uniformity in the schools come from both private and public sources, all in the name of increasing quality:* These include program regulations of the federal government, the requirements of regional cooperation, the national assessment program, textbook publishers, the manufacturers of instructional equipment, the private foundations, and eventually, perhaps even the Education Commission of the States. Educators are imitative of each other, and practices, like *bons mots,* are highly iterative in the educational community. Often, a limited local educational heresy soon becomes a widespread orthodoxy.

State education departments, then, as they move from regulation and being mere distributors of subsidies, must become stimulators of change and maintain dispersed local initiatives for innovation in order to combat an opposing tendency toward homogenized conformity.

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*Robert Dentler, Director of the Center for Urban Education in New York City may not have meant it in the same sense but he stated in a recent article. ". . . there are many forces working to eliminate inequalities among schools. The most powerful is the gradual emergence of a national educational system with relatively uniform standards of excellence."

REMOVAL OF IMPEDIMENTS AND CONSTRAINTS

The foregoing discussion has emphasized some of the impediments to improvement of state education departments and the constraints placed around their freedom to exercise leadership functions. Some of these are of their own making; some are not. Some corrective suggestions are in order. How does one shift from minatory ministrations to both ministerial leadership and true leadership functions?

In a paper in a previous volume published by *Designing Education for the Future* this author stated:

> The assumption is that a strong state education department can be a powerful institutional agent of change, either by creating the requisite conditions for change or by directly effecting change.
>
> One of the fashionable major strategies for effecting change is the development of structures for the purpose. This has come about because we have realized that in a world of continuous change, change to be controlled must be institutionalized, that is, there must be in each major system today a segment that takes thought for tomorrow, that sees to it that needs are anticipated and prepared for. *The development of a competent state education department is, itself, a major example of a state strategy for effecting change.* A competent state education department's ministrations may well be instrumental in the social process which Daniel P. Moynihan has called the "professionalization of reform."*

How can a state education department be an agent of change and serve to regularize and legitimize educational reform?

Every state education agency should develop a *plan* for self-renewal—a plan which, if carried out, will be instrumental in developing an organization and operating procedures designed to meet the needs of the changing society and the emerging educational program.

The plan should encompass proposed assessment and reviews of: (1) the constitutional and legislative provisions for educational leadership in the state, including the quality and character of the state board of education (discussed in the next section); (2) the purposes and priorities of the department in the light of emerging needs and social issues; (3) the extent of involvement of lay and professional advisory committees or councils; (4) the adequacy in quality and number of staff personnel; (5) the adequacy of internal organization to carry out the ideal mission of the department; (6) the conditions of employment for staff personnel including salaries, collateral perquisites, and opportunities for professional development and intellectual refreshment; (7) the strategies to be developed in implementing the final recommendations; (8) appropriate relationships with the legislature and the governor and provisions for development of legislative programs and initiation of legislation; and (9) any constraints and impediments which hinder the department from becoming better than it is.

The constraints and impediments might include: (1) the controls exercised by state civil service and other state agencies over the acquisition of competent professional personnel; (2) hampering budgetary controls;

**Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Education*, p. 309. See other important suggestions in Chap. 13 in the same publication.

and (3) limiting statutory and constitutional provisions governing the department's operations and functions, local school districts, as well as teachers and administrators. Laws, rules and regulations, originating in an epiphany of high resolve to correct some current condition perceived at a sacred moment of insight, often tend to be mindlessly administered forever.

> The *plan* for assessment should also incorporate provisions for study which would result in (a) the elimination of substandard or outmoded programs, outdated functions of the department and its bureaus, and substandard services to schools; (b) the development of new, forward-looking and meaningful programs and services; (c) eliminating intra-departmental duplication of effort in getting and disseminating information; and (d) initiating modern and improved methods and equipment to carry on the necessary department processes and procedures.[14]

It is probably unwise to depend *only* on in-house staff to formulate such a plan for study, even if the staff is wholly competent to do so. The results of intramural staff study are not likely to go far enough and may result in a "mirror on the wall—fairest of them all" playback. The plan for such a study is likely to "rationalize existing programs and procedures and is unlikely to discover many areas in need of renovation."

An internal department task force to help with the conduct of the study should be designated with one high level staff member as coordinator. The formulation of the final plan can then be undertaken in one or a combination of several ways: engage as consultants from colleges and universities, experts in organization, business management, and other specialized areas represented by the facets of the study plan; employ the services of a prestigious management consultant firm (there are several poor ones); invite evaluation by a lay citizens' committee composed of experts in management and production; use the intramural task force (but not exclusively); invite the U.S. Office of Education to subsidize an evaluation team, drawing on its own personnel from the main or regional office, other experts, and representatives of other state education departments; employ a knowledgeable systems analysis firm; or invite representatives of local school systems to assist.

In getting funds for the foregoing study, it would help immensely in final implementation of the emerging recommendations if the state legislature and the governor were to subsidize the study with state funds. This is one way of relating to the political process in developing department leadership.

The resulting plan for implementation should be reviewed with key power points including the governor, influential legislators, and representatives from appropriate higher institutions and local school systems, and from the lay public. All of this involvement is necessary if *major* breakthroughs are contemplated. Legislative proposals to effect certain changes would undoubtedly have to be developed and incorporated in the department's total annual legislative program.

Some fairly predictable results are likely to emerge from such a study. If state education departments are to provide effective state leadership and partnership with federal and local agencies, they must have the conditions of employment and the basic inducements to secure and maintain a highly skilled professional staff. A company is known by the people it keeps.

Recommendations from almost any study done on state education departments will usually touch on one or more of such relevant considerations as the following:

- Increased salaries and collateral perquisites continually competitive with those prevailing in traditional and newly identified recruitment sources, either in or out of the educational community, such as minority groups, big cities, industry, and communities.
- Ideas for the creation and maintenance of pride and competence in a professional staff not subject to political control and manipulation.
- Reorganization, procedures, and programs which will create a prevailing climate according generous hospitality to experimentation and innovation and a spirit conducive to the rapid promotion and accommodation of essential change in the educational system.
- Provisions for intellectual refreshment such as sabbatical leaves, short term absences for intensive study of innovations elsewhere, grants-in-aid for internships in the U.S. Office of Education, other state education departments, or selected governmental agencies.
- In-house or extramural inservice education and retraining programs, such as: (a) an internal in-service training program manned by highly qualified members of the department assisted by experts from universities, business and industry; (b) an internal in-service training program manned only by a team of college and university professors; (c) exchange of personnel with other state education departments or with the U.S. Office of Education; and (d) persuasion of one or more universities regionally located to establish training programs for the preparation of department personnel.
- Suggestions that greater use be made of consultant personnel on short-term contracts and of expert outside task forces to supplement activities for which state education departments cannot secure sufficient or highly competent personnel, such as planning and development.
- The allocation of high priority to leadership activities rather than to regulatory and supervisory functions.
- Autonomy from the usual state personnel and fiscal controls.

Once a major plan has been developed and implemented, the tendency in any organization is to fail to build in standing provisions for periodic review and self-evaluation. Any organization worth its salt today must keep its organization, services, and programs under constant close scrutiny.

The State Board of Education

In a day when education has moved up in the ladder of priorities, only a prestige board and a highly competent executive officer, supported to be sure by able professional staff, are capable of wisely interpreting the educational needs of the people and the political instincts of the governor and legislative authorities. The posture or intellectual stance of a state board and its chief executive officer on innovation, experimentation, and creative service, is overriding in importance. A conservative or incompetent board and a commissioner of education who likes only riskless choices can be formidable obstacles to effecting change in an educational system.

NEED FOR A STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

Does a state need a state board of education? There has been a consistent trend away from having an individual state official singlehandedly in charge of public education and a trend toward state boards. Forty-eight states now have them, although they differ considerably as to how they are constituted. The people in most states seem to be convinced that a representative board is necessary for the governance of education. The reasons for the conviction may lie in the following:

> 1. Education more than most other things is incurably democratic. One manifestation of this characteristic at the state level is representation of the public on a duly constituted board. One notes that the steeply hierarchical, pyramidal structure of the Roman Catholic Church, since Pope John, Vatican II, and *aggiornamento,* is now coming in for increasing democratization and laicization; there is increasing agitation for lay boards of education to preside over parochial schools.
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> 2. It has been characteristic of local administration of education to have lay boards of education. What is good for localities ought to be good for the state.
>
> 3. There is need at the state level for a non-partisan independent structure which relieves a single state official from sole responsibility in public education, can serve to maintain for education the important place it deserves in the structure of state government, can assist in seeing to it that education is not subordinated to activities having more political strength or appeal, and can interpret the educational needs of the people through direct representation of them and speak with a unifying voice.
>
> 4. Education is too important to be left solely to educators.
>
> 5. Only state boards should be delegated duties by the legislature for which broad discretionary powers are considered essential to good public administration. Single state officials are competent to carry out strictly ministerial functions delegated by the legislature and which require little or no discretionary judgment. It is inappropriate in a democracy for a single officer to decide who shall teach, to resolve issues arising from his own actions, to prescribe and enforce administrative rules and regulations governing the local public schools, etc.
>
> 6. In the past, where single state officials have been in charge, there has been agitation to change the system. The reverse is not true, that is, where there are state boards, there may be suggestions for changing the method of appointment or selection, for instance, but not for abolishing the state board.

One author has summed up the advantages of having a state board of education. He says that a board: (1) is more representative of the total population it serves than an individual policy making agent; (2) can make wiser and sounder policy decisions than an individual; (3) serves as a safeguard against the abuses of discretionary powers; (4) acts as a safeguard against the involvement of education in partisan politics and the spoils system; (5) a board of education is a safeguard against needless disruption in the continuity of an educational program; (6) a board of education provides an economical means for management and control of the educational program; and (7) a board of education provides a safeguard against fraud and malfeasance.[15]

It has, of course, been argued that boards involve unnecessary expense, frequent delays, and diffusion of responsibility; that board members are sometimes selected by a small proportion of the electorate; and that a board does not provide as suitable a means for coordination with other government services as the individual state official could. It is argued, too, that lay boards weaken executive responsibility and lead to internal conflicts in state administration. Even so, people in most of the states have decided that the board of education system is far superior to other arrangements. In short, if state boards of education did not exist, they would have to be invented.

METHODS OF SELECTION

We shall now proceed to an analysis of procedures used in the several states for selecting state boards of education. It should be understood at the outset that: (1) methods of selection are ultimately only facilitative and instrumental; (2) no one method is fail-safe or can guarantee success; (3) it is with men as it is with books—a few good ones can make a great deal of difference; and (4) what works in one state may not in another. Yet some means may be more profitable than others in producing effective leadership and in eliminating obstacles to creative service and constructive change. It will be the purpose of this section to examine the pros and cons of existing methods and to suggest a few provisions which may improve prevailing practice.

In June, 1967, there were four major methods of selecting state board members. Each of these will be discussed briefly.

Election by the People. In 11 states, state board of education members are elected by popular vote on either a partisan or nonpartisan basis.*

Advantages:

(a) The elective method is in accord with American democratic tradition of obtaining members to represent the people.

Disadvantages:

(a) The difficulty of persuading highly capable people to run for office, especially on a partisan basis, partly because of the expense of conducting a statewide campaign for a non-salaried position.

(b) The difficulty of informing the voters about the various candidates.

(c) The dangers inherent in the involvement of partisan politics in elections.

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*Variations in the selection procedure are to be found in Iowa, where state board members are elected by a convention of delegates chosen by local school boards, and in Washington, where state board members are elected by local school board members.

Election by the Legislature. In one state, board members are elected by the members of both houses of the legislature meeting in joint session.

Advantages:

(a) The process is responsive to the people without requiring a popular vote.

(b) The process reduces to a minimum the potential for partisan interference in educational policy-making, consistent with the concept of education as a unique aspect of our society.

(c) The process of selection can result in a board composed of outstanding representatives of a broad range of social and occupational groups so that it gives a fair reflection of the population's needs and desires.

(d) There is more opportunity for the practice of independent thought and action free from direct legislative influence. The method reinforces the autonomy of the board.

Disadvantages:

(a) The process of selection can be highly political without public review or participation, relying almost entirely on party leadership designation and party votes in the legislature.

(b) The process, especially if combined with long tenure, can result in a board which is independent in thought and action from both the legislative and executive branches of government to an extent which may not reflect the contemporary interests of the electorate.

(c) The process can lead to a predominance of male members drawn from the legal profession, to the neglect of other important segments of society, such as other professions, labor, women, and the arts.

Appointment by the Governor. In 32 states the governor appoints at least a majority of the members of the state board. The governor's appointive power is usually limited by requiring confirmation of his appointments by the state legislature or one of its houses, or by a state council.

Advantages:

(a) The governor can constitute the board without cost to state government.

(b) The governor has enough prestige to command the service of people who are outstanding and whose judgment and ability he respects.

(c) Since a state board should work closely with the governor, a board whose members are appointed by him is in a better position to press for needed educational improvements and support through the executive branch of government than is a board constituted by other means.

(d) Gubernatorial nomination fixes more clearly the responsibility for initiating candidates, and committee hearings (if consent of the legislature is needed) would permit public assessment of the educational philosophy of the nominees.

Disadvantages:

(a) Unless safeguards are introduced, excessive political control may be introduced and weak candidates chosen. Such safeguards usually chosen are: confirmation by the legislature of appointments and overlapping terms and tenure of state board members so that no one governor may dominate the board.

(b) The electorate does not participate directly in the process of selection.

Ex-Officio Members. In most states, the chief state school officer has some official responsibility on the state board. In 13 states he is designated an ex-officio member. In 8 states, the governor and other state officials serve ex-officio. In 2 states, all members of the board are state government officials. In several states persons holding certain educational positions are designated members of the state board.

Advantages:

(a) Ex-officio membership of government officials promotes harmonious relationships in educational administration.

(b) Coordination of state education activities with other state governmental activities is facilitated.

Disadvantages:

(a) Ex-officio membership of the chief state school officer introduces a peer relationship with other governmental and lay members which confuses the legislative-executive functions of policy-making and administration and may introduce unnecessary conflicts.

(b) People in ex-officio status have other jobs and cannot devote the full time needed to state educational matters.

(c) The circumstances which gave early rise to ex-officio membership no longer exist—historically, the difficulty of transportation and communication which did not facilitate board meetings of members who lived in widely scattered areas.

(d) Ex-officio membership of people holding certain educational positions is undesirable since they are likely to represent their own narrowly vested interests.

There are other methods of selection which have been postulated: (a) appointment by one house of a bicameral legislature, with or without the advice and consent of the other; and (b) appointment by the judiciary.

SOME SAFEGUARDS RELATING TO SELECTION

As was stated earlier, one method of selecting board members may be preferable in a given state and not in another. The following considerations should be taken into account in any event.

The first consideration is the constitutional and legislative provisions for educational leadership in the state. State constitutional provisions for organizational framework should be characterized by simplicity, leaving the fleshing out process to legislative enactment of statutory details. The reason is, of course, that constitutional mandates, once established, are difficult to change. Simple, broad, and flexible provisions permit the legislature to make such changes in details as the times and the mood of the people dictate. An education department, its governing board of education and the chief state school officer should be provided for in the state's constitution, thus helping to remove them from the dangers of excessive political manipulation and control. The protective autonomy of constitutional status helps to guarantee the state board and its executive officer the opportunity and freedom to interpret with clarity, perceptiveness, and conviction to the public, to the educational community, and to the political arena, the educational needs of a state without fear of political reprisal or the recriminations of special vested interest groups. State boards without the ability to do this are hardly more than custodial in function.

Judging from the trends and from critical analyses made of the various methods of selection, it would appear that if board members are to be elected by the people, it should be on a nonpartisan basis. Election by *representatives* of the people has some desirable safeguards against undue political influence. Appointment by the governor is the most prominent method. Relatively long overlapping terms and tenure and confirmation by legislative action would seem to be appropriate measures to be employed in this method. Ex-officio representation in any case should be kept to a minimum, if not eliminated entirely. Boards should be lay boards without educators or other special interest group representatives.

One possible desirable method of ensuring the selection of prestigious people to boards might be the use of an expert panel or committee, composed of both educators and knowledgeable laymen, to identify, keep lists of, and recommend persons for selection to board membership, whether the board is appointed by the governor or the legislature. If the legislature elects, the governor or the legislature itself might establish the panel; if the governor appoints, either he or the legislature could establish the committee. Joint participation in the process facilitates better selection, a wider representation of interests, and probably better support for education and more harmonious governmental relationships.

SIZE, TENURE AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Some other aspects of board organization and membership should be considered here. A board's autonomy is seriously weakened if the chairman of the board is designated by other than the board membership itself.

Size. The size of a board is important. A board should be large enough to represent the interests of the people yet small enough so that prestige is attached to the office and so that all members may be actively engaged in the deliberations essential to sound policy development. Practice now varies from 3 to 23. A desirable range is probably from 7 to 13.

Term and Tenure. The term of office is an important factor in the stability, strength, and continuity of a board. For example, terms must be long enough to give some assurance that board members may serve effectively after an orientation period which may consume as much as one or two years. Terms should also overlap so that there is an experienced majority at all times and so that there is no sudden and radical rupture in state policy and action which may have echoing effects throughout an entire state system. Moreover, in cases where an elected official appoints board members, the terms should be of sufficient length to prevent that official from gaining control of the board in a single term. This is especially important in highly charged political systems. Finally, terms should not be so long, nor should provisions for members to succeed themselves be such, as to result in conservative, bland, inflexible boards, unresponsive to the will of the people. Boards having long membership terms and slow turnover tend to become seamless domestic dispensations characterized by saltlessness, more interested in senatorial courtesies among themselves, preserving amenities in the premises, and in keeping internal harmony and peace, than they are in developing educational policy.

Terms should preferably not be less than six years in length and never less than four years. The permitted length of service should not be more than ten or at most 12 years. If the term is approximately ten years, a board member should not be permitted to succeed himself. If terms are, say, four years in length, it must be recognized that the usual member will probably only have a half-life of about two years in productive service.

It would be well, too, to stipulate a retirement age for board members. Usual compulsory retirement practice calls for retirement between the ages of 68 and 72. A board comprised of older members is usually a conservative, less active body.

Scope of Responsibilities. Something should be said about the scope of responsibilities of a state board of education. Practice varies widely here. A model for the future would suggest that a highly competent state board of education should embrace the full sweep of educational policy development responsibilities for the educational system of the state, extending at least through elementary and secondary levels, in order to achieve the broad goals stated at the beginning of this paper. Whether or not any segment of higher education, or all of it, is included will depend in each state upon tradition and the competence of the board. A strong argument can be made for having a state board in charge of education through the community college level in order to insure articulation between closely related levels of education. Certainly, separate state boards of vocational education should not be tolerated. Where separate state boards exist for higher education and for elementary and secondary education, there is a trend toward having super-coordinating boards.

The overarching responsibilities of a board are not unlike some of the responsibilities of a board of trustees of a higher institution. Within legal and constitutional mandates a board should have in its portfolio of responsibilities the following:

- Directing the accomplishment of the distinctive purposes for which the board and its education department were established.
- Carefully selecting, counselling with, and supporting the chief state school officer, relying on him for leadership in educational policy and planning, and assisting him in the exercise of that leadership (to be discussed in the next section).
- The interpretation and establishment of educational policy within the broad policy mandates of the legislature, the oversight of the quality of the educational system, and assistance in the planning for educational growth.
- Acquisition, conservation, and development of resources for the department's support and implementation of the educational program of the state.
- Promoting understanding and cooperation between the people of the state, the political community, the educational community, and the state education department by interpreting the opinions and judgments of each of these to the other.

Governing boards legislate; chief state school officers execute. In this dictum lies much wisdom. Incompetent boards tend to meddle with administration; arrogant executive officers sometimes are too aggressive in arrogating unto themselves policy determinations which should be cleared with their boards. In some situations, it might be wise to reduce to a brief memorandum of understanding a series of policy statements which will clarify what the division of responsibilities is between the board and its executive officer. Where there is mutual good will and sound relationships between a board and its executive officer, any attempts of one to poach upon the territory of the other can be easily adjusted.

State boards of education should divest themselves of any responsibilities for the operation of schools, specialized or otherwise. (However, in at least two or three states, there are movements to have the state board assume at least temporary control of districts or segments of districts in urban ghettoes or to assume at least temporary responsibility for the operation of exemplary and innovative demonstration schools.)

Boards composed of people who can make a real contribution; who are not burdened with narrowly vested interests and unsalutary political bias; who can spend enough time to know the educational system well; who can ask discerning questions and be willing to talk and fight for their convictions; who are not simply rubber-stamps for their chief executive officers; —such boards are viable, prestige boards that will command the respect, confidence, and support of the people, political leaders, the educational community, and their own state education departments.

To paraphrase some recent comments of Commissioner Harold Howe of the U.S. Office of Education: The difference in a board's success in getting state support appears to lie less in the mechanics of selection than in the prestige attached to board membership; in the phenomenon that builds a tradition by which service on the school board—whether by appointment or election—becomes the business of the state's most distinguished citizens.

The Chief State School Officer

It has been said of higher institutions that the quickest way to change an institution is to change its leadership. Whatever else one may say about a board and the discharge of its responsibilities, it has gone a long way in accomplishing its mission if it at least knows how to pick an exceptionally gifted leader as its executive officer. It is its most important function. (The implied assumption, of course, is that a board has or should have this constitutional or statutory responsibility.) If the chief state school officer is elected or designated by the governor, a board can still count itself fortunate if it has the services of a competent commissioner or superintendent.

METHODS OF SELECTION

Appointment by the Governor. In four states, the chief state school officer is appointed by the governor. In each of these states the state board is also appointed by the governor.

Advantages:

(a) Gubernatorial appointment would aid in assuring harmony in overall state planning and coordination. Administrative independence of a department of education weakens executive responsibility and leads to serious conflict within state government over basic educational policy.

(b) Growing public concern with education suggests that it should be brought closer to the electorate through appointment of the chief state school officer by the governor.

(c) Chief state school officers who are vested with great powers, such as quasi-judicial powers, should be more directly responsible to the electorate through the governor.

(d) The separation of education from other aspects of government is inconsistent with the principle of executive responsibility and inappropriate in a field of such great moment to government and to public policy in general. The public, in other arrangements, acting through its franchise, could not hold any official accountable for educational policies.

(e) If the chief state school officer were appointed by the governor for a term longer than the governor and were removable only for cause, he would be relatively free of short-range political pressure.

(f) Appointment by the governor involves less risk that selection will be based on partisan political considerations as witnessed by gubernatorial choices in some states of other officials in such fields as health and mental hygiene.

(g) When boards are not competent, and are likely to choose or appoint an executive officer not more able than themselves, a governor can repair the deficiency. Similarly, election of chief state school officers does not necessarily guarantee competence.

Disadvantages:

(a) The national trend has been increasingly toward selection of the chief state school officer by the state board of education.

(b) Partisan political considerations should not be permitted to influence the education of our youth.

(c) Educational policy is a matter which transcends the term of any governor; there must be a body and executives who bridge the gap from one state administration to another and from one legislature to the next.

(d) Education is a check on government itself; it should not be put in a position where it can readily be captured by one or another contestant for governmental power.

(5) Unless the appointment is with the consent of a legislative body, there is no opportunity for the electorate indirectly to participate or to examine publicly the qualifications of the person to hold an important office.

Election by Popular Vote. In 22 states, the chief state school officer is elected by popular vote. The terms are for two or four years, and the methods of election vary greatly. A few have political convention nominations. Others have bipartisan or nonpartisan ballots, quite apart from the political election in the state. Some of these are special elections held in the spring instead of in the fall when the political elections occur.

Advantages:

(a) The person elected represents the majority will of the people.

(b) Nonpartisan provisions ensure that undesirable political influences and aspirations do not interfere with the educational process.

Disadvantages:

(a) Highly competent people will not enter the dusty plain of politics; also, the costs of campaigning are a deterrent, as well as the short term of office.

(b) Politically-oriented educational officers are likely to let political biases enter into their decisions in educational policy development and in the distribution of both state and federal funds.

(c) Politically-oriented executive officers will allot time to political affairs which should be devoted to educational planning and development. Running for re-election is especially detrimental to the educational system and to the state education agency.

(d) Students of political science and of state educational administration, in rare agreement, agree that chief state educational officers should not be selected by popular vote.

(e) The practice of electing chief state educational officers persists only because the elected chief state school officer is generally a constitutional officer and it is difficult to change constitutional provisions.

(f) The requirement of residence in a state prevents a nationwide search for "the" best candidate.

(g) Chief state school officers elected by popular vote are usually given only non-discretionary ministerial duties which limit their educational usefulness.

Appointment by the State Board of Education. As Mendès-France once remarked, to govern is to choose. A board that is empowered to choose its own executive has no greater responsibility. Twenty-four states have adopted this method, as contrasted with only 4 in 1910 and 13 in 1950.

Advantages:

(a) A board having responsibility for educational policy development has the assurance that its policies and decisions will be executed in consonance with its wishes.

(b) Partisan political considerations are sharply reduced.

(c) The national trend has been increasingly toward this method.

(d) The method encourages the state board to restrict its operations to legislative functions, while leaving the executive sphere of administrative control to the chief state school officer.

(e) A chief educational officer can be more independent in thought and action free from direct political influence.

(f) A board can range nationwide for a competent person.

(g) The process is responsive to the people without requiring a popular vote or indirect representation of the people through political appointive authority.

Disadvantages:

(a) In a time when it is important to relate education to the political process in wholesome ways, it becomes somewhat more difficult to do so when the chief state school officer is thus shielded from direct political appointive authority.

(b) An incompetent board may choose an incompetent executive.

(c) Executive control by the governor is weakened.

Joint Selection. One variation from the foregoing methods that has been suggested is that the chief state educational officer be appointed by a board with the approval of the governor. It is possible to visualize, under this arrangement, unlimited potential for disagreement and conflict, not only over the appointment of a chief state school officer, but even more likely over his retention or removal. If the governor were given no power with respect to the removal of a chief state school officer, a new governor might find himself confronted by one whom he did not want but could not remove. On the other hand, were the governor and the state board to share in the removal power, the result could be at worst, conflict, and at best, the introduction into a state educational agency of a lack of continuity.

One further novel arrangement has been suggested recently in order to centralize executive control of the policy-making role in education. The suggestion is that a chief state school officer be appointed by the governor but approved by the state board. The same potential for conflict as was discussed earlier would seem to obtain here.

The author can be as prejudiced as anyone else. All he needs is the right subject. The clear preference is for a chief state school officer to be appointed by the state board of education, however that body is constituted.

TENURE, COMPENSATION AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Term-of-office and tenure provisions for chief state school officers vary widely from state to state. As of January 1963, 31 states had legally fixed terms of office ranging from 1 to 6 years with four years being most popular. All elected state educational officers (22) had legally fixed terms (2 or 4 years) while of the other 9, 6 were appointed by the state board and 3 by the governor. It has been argued that it is sound practice to make provision in the law for fixed terms in years of office for the chief state school officer. The office is created by law and powers and duties are delegated by law. It is argued that regardless of the method employed in his selection, the commissioner should have some security while in office to exercise his powers and conduct his duties without fear of dismissal at the unlimited discretion of the agency or officer employing or designating him. A U.S. Office of Education document suggests:

> Where the state governor can dismiss the chief state school officer without showing cause, the educational affairs of the state cannot be removed from partisan politics. Where the state board of education can dismiss the chief state school officer without showing cause, the board or individual members of the board may be encouraged at times to intrude upon the professional sphere of administrative control. Dismissal without cause under any conditions is incompatible with democratic ideals.[16]

It is probably logical and inevitable that an elected official or one appointed by the governor should have a term of office. But a case can be made for having a chief state school officer serve at the pleasure of a state board that appoints him. Especially is this ideal, if the board has prestige and is able to command the services of a competent chief state school officer. Where there is a tradition of political control, influence, or interference, a chief state school officer would be wise to demand a contract for a fixed number of years, in the absence of any other tenure provisions. If he is to be appointed by the governor for a fixed term, the term should not coincide with the term in office of the appointing governor.

The term of office, upon appointment, should be at least four years in length. A shorter term can hardly provide the incumbent with enough time to demonstrate his professional ability or to make the changes he and the board agree are necessary to make in the state agency or in the educational system. That span of time will also give the state board or appointing authority ample opportunity to evaluate the chief state school officer's effectiveness and whether the public interest requires the creation of a wholesome vacancy or earlier retirement than originally contemplated.

Only a few comments need be made on salary. While some progress has been made in recent years, present practice in the states strongly suggests that the low salaries paid chief state school officers seriously handicap the states in recruiting and retaining highly competent executive officers, and just as seriously, since the chief state school officer's salary is usually the ceiling paid within the state educational agency, even lower salaries constitute a barrier to the employment of subordinate professional staff.

A rule of thumb is in order. The salary of a chief state school officer should be just as high as (or even higher) than the salary paid to the highest-salaried local superintendent of schools (to be found usually in the large urban districts) or that of the state university president. There is a high correlation between the status and prestige of a state board and its educational agency, on the one hand, and the states where such practice obtains. The chief state school officer should, of course, serve as the executive officer of the board and as head of the department of education. One of the primary factors contributing to great prestige in the office of a chief state school officer is the vesting of quasi-judicial powers in him, whether or not these are reviewable by the state board. Such powers permit more rapid redress of grievances in the educational system than would be possible in the courts, which is, of course, why the practice arose.

SUMMARY

In summary, the preference of this writer is for the appointment by the legislature or by the governor of distinguished lay citizens to a state board of education (7 to 13 members) upon nomination by an advisory panel, with the members to have overlapping terms of up to 10 years. The state board should have power to appoint its own chief executive officer to serve at their pleasure. By law or by memorandum of understanding, the board and the chief state school officer would have a clear understanding of the division of their respective legislative and executive responsibilities. The chief state school officer would command a salary at least as high as that paid to the state university president or to the highest-salaried local school superintendent within the state. The chief state school officer would have quasi-judicial duties. The state board and its state education department would have no operational responsibilities for educational institutions.

Functions of a State Education Department

Deriving from the forces bringing about change discussed in previous sections as well as from the basic beliefs and assumptions posed in the first part of this chapter are several implications involving new functions, operations, and adaptations which state education departments should consider. There will be some who will argue that none of these is really new or "emergent." This may be so. But present conditions surely give them a new urgency, and there is hardly uniform theory or practice in the several states with respect to many of them.

The list of functions discussed on the following pages is not meant to be exhaustive. All of them, if assumed, promote state leadership in education. All of them are concerned with accelerating change. All of them are based on the premise that in the modern era, a state education department must be an agent of change and that if innovation is to be timely and effective, change must even be institutionalized and professionalized.

There are several primary functions which a state education department aspiring to excellence must be willing to assume. Many departments are performing a few of them. Only a comparatively few range over the entire lot. And of these, only a handful can be adjudged professionally competent in their exercise. While there may be some who will argue that excellence, by definition, cannot be ubiquitous, one can counter that the full fruition of the concept of creative federalism can only come about if all state education departments make some minimal arrangements for carrying out responsibilities in each of these primary categories. And it should be kept in mind that there are many commendable and diverse ways to give practical effect to these functions. No one state education department has the answer.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EDUCATIONAL GOALS

Seneca once stated that if we do not know to which port we are sailing, no wind is favorable. Comparatively few state education departments have gone through the process of defining broad goals to which state government, the local schools, and citizens can commit themselves in allocating the combined local-state-federal resources available for their accomplishment. It is a painful process and one which, if it is to be well done, involves wide participation and consensus.

Broad goals are: providing an adequate supply of well-qualified teachers; providing for each school the curriculum materials, activities, and procedures that contribute most directly to developing an individual's ability to think; construction of enough new classrooms to keep pace with increasing enrollment; the encouragement of innovation to achieve more efficient use of materials, facilities, and personnel; reorganizing local districts into units that are administratively and educationally strong and financially efficient; providing adequate opportunities for continuing education for adults in all phases of their lives: work, family, public, and cultural life; etc.

Such a goal statement should recognize the proper role of local direction and control of individual elements of the educational system and the overriding responsibility of the state to ensure quality performance by those individual elements. Requiring even more effort is the process of defining specific educational objectives to be achieved in the teaching and learning process.

Henry S. Dyer of the Educational Testing Service has recently given us the reasons why the goals formulated in the past have been largely non-functional: too much reliance on the magic of words; too little public participation in formulating the goals; and too great readiness to suppose that the goals are already given and require only to be achieved.

What are the desirable outcomes of the educational process, not only in terms of basic skills but including behavioral outputs as well? Each state must develop its own taxonomy of both cognitive and non-cognitive objectives.

Evaluation procedures cannot be exemplary nor can long-range planning be fully effective without the definition of broad goals and specific educational objectives.

Many chief state school officers and school administrators have viewed with disquiet, if not hostility, the National Assessment of Education program, encouraged by the federal government and supported by funds from the Carnegie Corporation and the Fund for the Advancement of Education. This pioneer effort to develop a nationwide inventory of educational progress should be welcomed, not resisted.

LONG-RANGE PLANNING

It is paradoxical that simultaneously as we bear witness to the widespread exponential rate of change, there is growing insistence on long-range planning. The explanation is simple. Many rates of change are predictable. Projections can be made. On the other hand, it is a wise state education department that scrutinizes at least yearly and preferably continuously every aspect of its long-range plan to ensure that it accommodates the unexpected and expands as one moves into it. Simple and stable straight-line relationships in education no longer exist. Education is a complex mix of many shifting and interacting components.

Planning in some state education departments is now a year-round affair, not only as a basis for budgeting for the succeeding year's needs but to make adjustments in long-range plans for unforeseen changes and needs. At least one state education department has established an Office of Long-Range Planning and Program Development for the purpose, and others have taken significant steps in that direction.

There is a growing practice for state governments to engage in activities relating to PPBS (planning-programming-budgeting system), following the example of the Department of Defense which has influenced agencies throughout the federal government. State education departments reluctant to launch program budgeting will undoubtedly find soon enough that the initiation of program budgeting procedures by the U.S. Bureau of the Budget will be reflected in future federal criteria governing state and local applications for federal assistance in many program areas. States would do well to work closely with federal officials in order to ensure that state and federal programming systems are complementary and mutually supporting.

PPBS involves detailed planning for every area of a department's responsibilities—planning in written form so that it can be discussed and reviewed by all concerned; planning in time perspective so that the future can be projected step by step; and planning in such form as to make visible the accomplishments of the department in relation to its expenditure of resources.

A recent writer on the subject states that program budgeting enables one to ask such questions as:

> What does this program attempt to do?
>
> What does it do it with and with what results?
>
> How much does it *really* cost? This year? Over five years? Over ten years?
>
> What could it do with fewer resources? With more resources?
>
> What other function might it take on or give up? Should it be continued and at what level of support?

A planning-programming-budgeting system is designed to give a department head the information he needs for decision making. It forces the periodic identification and assessment of needs and opportunities for educational programs, materials, and methods in a state and the definition of the human and physical resources necessary to carry them out.

No one should underestimate the difficulties and rigorous discipline required in developing a program budget for education. But it is indicative of the increased accountability being asked of educators for stewardship of an important growth industry that they are increasingly subjecting themselves to the process (or are being required to do so).

There are other emerging techniques which can be applied in education and which not only supply information and data needed to make decisions but also analyses of the relationships of variables having a bearing on the outcomes of the decision process. These include systems analysis techniques, Program Evaluation and Review Technique (PERT), and manpower assessment.

There is new emphasis at the federal level on comprehensive statewide planning. The U.S. Office of Education is making funds available to states to enable them to: (a) package or consolidate several federal aid programs for education in order to make them more coherent and effective in achieving the objectives set for them and to eliminate excessive paperwork; and (b) develop comprehensive planning capability which extends beyond federal programs to include statewide interests and problems.

Here is an opportunity for all state education departments—now notably deficient in the planning function and skills, yet, paradoxically, the most logical agencies to provide technical planning leadership and services for education in their respective states—to assume the most important function they can perform.

Planning is a technical process and as such involves the systematic application of a rational methodology to the tasks of identifying and resolving the persistent and compelling problems of educational development. It usually entails:

- identifying and projecting educational needs;
- clarifying and quantifying educational objectives;
- delineating alternative uses of resources to attain objectives;
- estimating potential effectiveness and efficiency of each alternative;
- integrating all functions of the educational system into an internally consistent plan of action; and
- recommending an optimum plan for administrative action.

Three distinct dimensions of inquiry are inherent in the planning process:

- To what extent can it be demonstrated that the goals and objectives of the educational system are relevant to the persistent and compelling social, cultural, and economic problems of the state, region, and nation?
- Given relevant goals and objectives to pursue, to what extent can it be demonstrated that these goals and objectives are in fact being achieved by the educational system, both short term and long term?
- To what extent can it be demonstrated that the educational system is efficient, while achieving its principal objectives?
    - To what extent are resources used optimally?
    - To what extent are individual pupils benefitting from the system's programs, services, and organization?
    - What undesired or unanticipated consequences result from the system's operations?

Planning embraces a series of processes ranging from the determination of educational needs to legislative and administrative action. They include:

- organizing and staffing for planning;
- developing a planning strategy;
- assessing educational needs through statewide or intensive study;

- evaluating educational performance and output;
- setting goals, objectives, and targets for planning;
- formulating alternative ways to achieve objectives;
- reducing alternatives to best methods possible within limitations of present and projected future resources;
- translating plans into action programs; and
- recycling the planning process in the light of experience.

The characteristics of a competent planning mechanism have been described. To be effective, it should have these capacities:

- to provoke inputs from all relevant constituent elements within the state;
- to assimilate these inputs into an integral whole, and to specify goals, priorities, and objectives of the planning;
- to translate these into alternative courses of action, based upon technical study and evaluation;
- to feedback alternatives to constituent elements for reaction and further input;
- to mediate reactions as advantages and disadvantages;
- to decide on one appropriate, achievable, and defensible comprehensive plan for statewide educational improvement; and
- to advocate plan acceptance by responsible agencies and institutions.

Many state education departments will not soon be able to play this full planning role; but they should at least be engaged in many aspects of the task outlined, cooperating with other agencies in state government, higher institutions, local school systems, and relevant federal agencies. State education departments, too, should be able to provide essential planning assistance services directly to local and other state educational agencies.

Moreover, state education departments may well establish regional or intermediate units (or strengthen them for planning purposes, if they now exist) which can effectively: (a) provide planning assistance to local school districts within a given area, including evaluative services; and (b) assist the state in its statewide planning functions.

Two points should be emphasized: planning must relate to the political process; programs and plans adopted must become both political and popular—that is (a) political leaders (meaning the legislature and the governor) must be persuaded that educational recommendations should be translated into annual legislative programs; and (b) the people must be persuaded that the programs and actions contemplated are needed and should be implemented.

On the one hand, political involvement is necessary; on the other, state boards and superintendents must be strong enough and courageous enough to resist the warping of soundly conceived educational ends and programs by undue partisan purpose. To achieve political responsiveness without abandoning professional responsibility, as Goldhammer and his colleagues have stated, is a fine art, and one that grows more important as education has assumed national and political importance.

Planning today which does not take account of the many relevant state and federal agencies involved in education, namely, housing, highway development, recreation, urban development and welfare services—will not achieve the wholeness necessary in a day of interlocking complexity.

If intelligence can be defined as anticipatory behavior, then long-range planning is a hallmark of excellence in state educational leadership. Robert Bridges once remarked, that "wisdom lies in masterful administration of the unforeseen." The future belongs to those who prepare for it.

GUIDANCE AND COORDINATION

A strong state education department should carry on a number of activities designed to guide educational activities in specific directions in line with broad goals and educational objectives. Eighteen pertinent examples of these activities are given in a previous volume of this series.* They range from the development of master or statewide plans for school district organization, to promoting the use of the various instructional technologies, including educational television and computer-assisted instruction.

The foregoing are just some of the leadership functions which a state education department can perform. These activities become elements in an overall integrated plan, the development of which is in the mainstream of a department's activity, as discussed in the previous section on planning.

It is probably recognized that a key feature and common element in many of these activities is the provision of state financial aid in order to stimulate local school systems to conduct programs for the purpose of increasing quality and opportunity. Planning and exhortation are important; but it helps to hold out a carrot to accomplish given ends.

A major strategy in getting change is the use of dollars. It is no accident that the recent Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare was, prior to his government service, a foundation president. An emergent function of a state education department is to act more like a combined management consultant firm and philanthropic foundation, able to provide consultative services on a wide variety of problems and to offer money to bring about correction and change on the basis of formulated plans judged by adopted state criteria.

It may well be—if local school systems cannot be depended upon uniformly to improve fast enough and to attack critical problems on their own initiative—that the trend, (following the example of the federal government) will be toward increased categorical aid at the state level at the expense of continuing increases in general foundation aid. However,

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*See *Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Education*, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-13.

it is interesting to note a few signs in the opposite direction in the federal financing of education, namely, consolidation of related programs and broadening of others.

But state education departments have other guidance functions which may include cooperation on a peer basis rather than a clear-cut coordinating or steering role. The entrance in a serious way into education of the federal government urges upon state education departments the function of serving as a two-way channel of communication between local school systems and the federal government in programs where the state agency has no clear, mandated, middle-man administrative function. A department can assist local school systems in developing applications for federal research funds. Strong state leadership can provide guidance and coordination to local school systems in planning for Title III, ESEA funds for supplementary services and centers. At the same time, it can assist the federal government in selecting those Title III projects deserving of highest priority.

The Economic Opportunity Act almost by-passes the states; yet some states have been able to exert strong influence on local school systems to do their part in community efforts to combat poverty.

Education has an important role to play in the Appalachian Regional Development Program. Cooperating with other state agencies in planning those educational developments which can secure additional local and federal support in order to improve regional productivity is an important function for state education departments in several states.

The Model Cities Demonstration Program and Neighborhood Service Center Program will soon require that local school systems in large urban areas join several other local agencies, public and private, in improving blighted urban areas. State education departments will be asked (as they already have been) to assist in such planning.

Marshaling all the educational resources within any given geographical sector of a state—a region or a large metropolitan area—such as universities, colleges, the school system; the museums, the performing arts groups, television, etc., for the purpose of bringing all pertinent resources to bear on given problems, requires persuasive and imaginative leadership of the highest order. Research problems, the organization of supplementary educational centers under Title III of ESEA, and the development of regional educational laboratories under the Cooperative Research Act are three examples where strong state leadership can make a difference.

Although alluded to earlier, it would be well to emphasize that state education departments will find it increasingly essential to confer and cooperate with such sister agencies of state government as health, labor, welfare, state councils on the arts, state offices of local government, and regional planning, etc., in planning for curricular change and educational programming. Vocational education sectors of state education departments are more familiar with such cooperation. The point is that there will be an increasing number of specialized areas within state education departments which will find it necessary to join with other relevant state agencies in cooperative planning.

To date there have been imperfections of execution in the federal government as its agencies—particularly the Office of Economic Opportunity and the U.S. Office of Education—have launched vast new programs in order to correct deficiencies in our educational system. Some of these administrative flaws are understandable and will be corrected. Some ground rules and methods are not easily accommodated, either on a philosophical or practical basis. In any case, state education departments can serve as an important buffer or bridge of interpretation between the federal government and local agencies.

In the following sections, some specific areas where increased guidance and coordination are needed, are developed in greater depth.

School District Reorganization. While school district reorganization has been mentioned as an important problem needing state education department leadership through guidance and coordination services, a greater sense of urgency in solving it must be created. While the number of school districts has dropped nearly 60 percent in ten years, there are still too many and the situation in some states is disgraceful. There simply is no excuse for the barrier of small inefficient districts when the expectation is that every child is to be educated to the utmost of his abilities and interests.

At the minimum, every state with a remaining problem should have a master plan of school district reorganization established by statutory authority in order to accelerate the creation of school systems large enough to offer the curriculums and services necessary to meet individual student needs and for the more efficient and economical operation of the schools. If such master plans provide only for voluntary reorganization, the states should at least offer incentive financial aid to induce reorganization.

Because education has become so important, the time has probably come to recognize that effective school district reorganization from here on out can only be accomplished by legislative fiat. It is, of course, difficult to disabuse communities of the notion that local control and smallness are equated with quality. Too often their insistence upon local control is merely the exercise of their presumed right to be as bad as they want to be.

It may well be that by accelerating the process of making larger districts out of smaller ones the problem of how to increase the quality of local leadership can be solved. As John Fischer of Columbia has said, there are not enough good school superintendents to go around. Fewer school districts will fit more readily the pool of leadership competence available.

At the other end of the problem of school district reorganization is the situation where large city school systems have become too big to be manageable and educationally effective. How to decentralize authority and responsibility to smaller units within a large urban area in order to make a central bureaucracy more responsive to local constituencies is one aspect of the intense problem of urban education. (See Chapter 2 for suggested alternatives).

Vocational Education. Several courses of action were implied by earlier comments on vocational education:

- the establishment of area vocational schools and opportunities in order to distribute occupational education more evenly throughout a given state;
- better planning for the development of occupational education programs, such planning to involve closer cooperation with commerce and industry in order that employers, labor force requirements, and job opportunities are brought into more productive relationships with the education provided;
- a heavier investment in improved guidance and counseling;
- provision for continuing education in order to accommodate the effects of rapid obsolescence of skills;
- closer cooperation and understanding between the academic subject matter areas and occupational education; and
- working towards a parity of esteem between the academic subjects and vocational education programs and courses.

Certification requirements for vocational education teachers and civil service requirements for state education department employment in vocational education need drastic overhaul. Often, requirements are so inflexible and detailed as to make it impossible to employ someone in vocational education who is less than middle-aged. The requirements simply cannot be met any sooner. We need to relieve ourselves of the petty tyrannies of state regulations.

A University of Chicago professor of law has said:

> Law is not a positive good; it is a necessary evil . . . we may judge the excellence of our society not by how much law we have but by how little.

It is probably commonplace knowledge that much of vocational and technical education is shifting upwards to the community college level, precisely because increased sophistication is required to make a service-oriented and technological society work. Fostering better cooperation between community colleges and secondary schools is essential in planning vocational education programs to be conducted by each (1) in order to avoid duplication, (2) to distribute such opportunities better throughout any any given state, and (3) to avoid confusing the public about what vocational education is and what the purposes of community colleges are.

It is not an infrequent observation that those in vocational education at the secondary level express little fondness for the community colleges, and vice versa. Community colleges sometimes behave as if they have a patent on educational nobility. Often, there is internecine warfare between the two. The Federal Vocational Education Act has aroused tensions, and not always creative ones. One is reminded of the pompous Church of England cleric who said one day to his non-conformist colleague, "We're both doing God's work, you in your way and I in His."

Finally, it is hard to see even vestigial logic in the archaic arrangements in some states which provide for separate governance of vocational education. State education departments and vocational education boards should be consolidated. This is a time for wholeness, not fractionation, in leadership.

PROVIDING CONSULTATIVE SERVICES

A leadership department must be in a position to provide expert assistance and creative service to local school systems in helping them to solve local or regional problems, initiate new programs, establish complicated relationships, and develop their sophistication in strategies of constructive change.

Local school systems should be able to solicit assistance from a state education department in a wide variety of areas: transportation efficiency, accounting systems (double entry bookkeeping and outside professional audits are now required in some states), school budgets, purchasing procedures, automatic data processing equipment and procedures, long-range financial and other planning, racial integration, adoption of new curriculums, in-service education practices, employer-employee relationships and mediation services, the installation of advanced placement programs, use of new instructional technologies, solving instructional problems for the gifted, organizing supplementary educational centers, introducing preschool and parent education programs, foreign area studies, school district reorganization, special programs for the disadvantaged, planning for the use of federal funds, the development of a research program, evaluation techniques—these are just some of the specific areas in which school districts need assistance, even large city school systems.

But all states cannot afford vast professional staffs for these purposes. There are other ways to achieve the same ends of improving quality, efficiency, and educational opportunity.

A state education department should have such relationships with the higher educational community of the state that it can call upon specific faculty and administrative officers of colleges and universities to assist neighboring school systems in specialized areas. Some state education departments will have funds to pay for such consultation; all should at least be in a position to know when to suggest that a school system should take the initiative in seeking such assistance and use its own financial resources to pay for the assistance.

Scarce state education department personnel can spread their effectiveness and achieve a multiplier effect if they call state or regional conferences to which teachers or administrators in given disciplines or administrative specialties are invited for orientation or consultation: for example, all English teachers in a particular region could meet in a central location with state education department personnel to get better acquainted with a new curriculum proposal.

Again, state education department personnel should have long since ceased trying to deal with individual local teachers. Instead, contacts should be with school system supervisors. For example, a state level supervisor or consultant on mathematics might provide his services to and through local supervisors of mathematics.

Another way to provide consultation is to establish different types of demonstration centers throughout a state (with state funds if possible) to which high public visibility would be given. To such demonstration centers, teachers and administrators could come for instruction or orientation. There are, in any case, pilot or lighthouse districts in any state where "best practice" prevails and which could be similarly used.

There is another way to assist school systems. In some states a cooperative review service has been established. Staff personnel (sometimes supplemented by college and university consultants) organize themselves as a task force to evaluate an entire school system in a two- or three-day visitation and render a comprehensive report on instructional and noninstructional activities, including school board relationships. The visit is preceded by a self-study performed by the school district. This service emulates regional accrediting procedures. It is another technique in exercising a department's responsibility for evaluation (to be discussed in a succeeding section). Besides furnishing ordinary consultation at the request of any school district, the technique can also be used to focus on school systems that are poor in quality, and can contribute significantly in rounding out the information necessary in urban education where research and evaluation are requisite in dealing with the problems of large cities.

Even this kind of evaluative service can be adjusted to suit the needs of small education departments. For one thing, regional accrediting agencies perform a similar function for individual secondary schools, and state education departments, by developing closer relationships with such agencies, can rely on their reports in bringing about change and increased effectiveness at the local level. Most regional accrediting agencies do not evaluate entire school systems, however, and most operate only at the secondary level.

Finally, a state education department can, at the minimum, develop a system which places greater emphasis on local self-evaluation by:

- setting quality standards;
- developing evaluative techniques for local use;
- monitoring local evaluations of educational quality;
- establishing a priority system for providing direct departmental assistance to those districts needing it most; and
- developing the use of small expert study teams to provide the service to the neediest districts.

With this approach, a department can exert a greater and quicker impact on improving educational quality statewide. Moreover, the program requires a smaller investment of departmental resources relative to results secured.

Instructional Technology. A special note on instructional technology in relation to consultative services should be made here. Instructional technology has suddenly assumed proportions requiring firm and imaginative leadership from the state level. Since innovation is fast becoming the new cliché; since education is a boom industry; because the federal government is extending generous financial assistance to education in general, and for instructional materials in particular; and inasmuch as commerce and industry, whatever their social conscience, are acutely aware that there is a profit to be made in education—the educational establishment is being flooded with hardware, much of it untested, and some of it worthless.

There are other urgencies prompting education to explore the use of aids and media and large group instruction as means of improving the quality and increasing the quantity and efficiency of learning. A few are: the desire for a higher quality of education; the need for improving the organization and presentation of knowledge; rapidly expanding enrollments; and the shortage of faculties and facilities.

State education departments should feel a deep obligation to be so staffed, organized, and equipped as to enable them to furnish consultative advice, demonstrations, standards, and evaluative services to local schools in order to help them make the most efficient and economical use of the educational media now being produced. State education departments have a similar obligation with respect to educational television—a field too often thought of as something different from other instructional technology and educational media. And, lest things get out of hand, department staff responsible for leadership in this area need to know the relative priority to be awarded software as against hardware. One is, of course, subordinate to and follows from, the other.

In-service Education. Such education should be emphasized as deserving high priority in accelerating educational change.

Ample funds and consultative services are needed for helping school systems to keep teachers up-to-date in their fields of knowledge and with new teaching techniques. In a more stable day, when knowledge and teaching method did not change at the pace characteristic of them today, keeping current in one's own field of knowledge was considered an individual professional responsibility. It still is in other professions, but no longer to the same degree in teaching at the elementary and secondary level. Now, because education is considered an investment and not a cost and because education has a first priority in the achievement of state and national goals, responsibility for keeping teachers abreast of current knowledge has shifted from the individual teacher to larger units of government representing society's interest in quality education.

The states must supplement federal and local funds and provide imaginative ways in which all teachers, and administrators, too, can participate in order to keep them *au courant* with the obsolescence of old facts and the quantum jump of new knowledge. An effective teaching and learning process can be sustained against many adversities, but hardly against one in which transmitted knowledge contains error and falsehood.

INNOVATION AND DISSEMINATION

Ideally all professional personnel in a state education department would consider themselves as innovators and agents of change but this is too much to hope for in the short-run. The remedy over the long term lies in several specific activities and requisite conditions:

1. As stated earlier, the posture or intellectual stance of a state board and its chief executive officer on innovation, experimentation, and creative service is overriding in importance. A conservative board and a commissioner of education who likes only riskless choices will forestall change internally and externally quicker than anything else. It does not help either to have someone in charge who has an exuberant boundlessness for full and immediate accommodation of any novel educational fad that comes along. It does not pay to be so open-minded that one's brains fall out.

2. Given a positive attitude toward change, it follows that the historical importance of giving prime attention to regulatory functions deriving from legislative mandates diminishes in relation to leadership activities. Heavy emphasis on carrying out regulatory activities, including strict interpretation of laws and regulations by unimaginative officials, inhibits change.

3. Planning for the long-range needs of education and the promotion of programs necessary to accommodate those needs are essential administrative next steps.

4. In a transition period, a state education department may even find it expedient to establish one or more units charged with responsibility for change and for inducting department staff into the new role of the department. One department has established a Center on Innovation, modestly staffed, to provide a prominent focus for change and innovation. Such a center, by providing a visible focus for change and innovation, can do much to promote throughout an entire educational system of a state an attitude that favors and fosters research, experimentation, and innovation—not change for its own sake, but change carefully calculated to improve the level of learning and to lift the status of teaching. Such a center also has responsibility for developing strategies and structures for accelerating educational change and for the engineering of consent.

5. Federal funds have established regional educational laboratories and research and development centers. State education departments should be partners, users, and promoters of such new structures.

6. A key provision in accelerating educational change is an organized dissemination system for desired new programs. As a minimum, this involves reporting through an information system, but it should go beyond this to a full-scale dissemination arrangement involving demonstration centers or techniques, in-service training, and adoption support. Properly developed with state assistance and guidance into regional service centers, the supplementary educational centers authorized by Title III, ESEA, can bridge the gap between educational laboratories and R and D centers on

the one hand, and local school systems on the other. They can serve as a link between the sources of new ideas and the schools. Through in-service programs, demonstrations and other means, they can spread new practices to schools in their regions and feed back to the developmental laboratories, both problems that emerge in the course of introducing new ideas and those identified at the local level as needing attention.

7. Providing for an information system that furnishes a two-way flow between the field and the department is essential to long-range planning and current decision making at all levels. The "information" stressed here is not statistical data but rather details of innovative programs and procedures.

The Educational Research Information Center (ERIC) project established by the U.S. Office of Education is designed to establish informational clearinghouses and research documentation centers in specific programs with each center specializing in one specific area. About a dozen of such centers are now in operation. Others are in the process of establishment, including one which creates a clearinghouse for state education department publications and documents. With such systems, it should be possible for researchers to find out the status of research on any problem, and for practitioners seeking solutions to problems both to probe the research for keys to answers and to identify ongoing programs that may be demonstrating the answer.

Merely making a vast array of information accessible will, of course, not be sufficient, but the development of an effective information system and maintaining a knowledge inventory of the most advanced thinking can go a long way in reducing wasteful duplication of effort and insuring that research and practice in mutual interaction build more quickly to even higher levels of excellence.

8. The provision by a state legislature of funds to assist local schools, higher institutions, supplementary centers, regional educational laboratories, etc., in conducting research and experimentation and designing and establishing innovative programs increases the force of a state education department's suggestions on the general need for change or on specific needs.

9. The emerging educational structures previously discussed are themselves a major strategy for change. Their intrusion will force all institutions to look at themselves. In addition to this strategy of structures with which state education departments can ally themselves in various ways, there are a number of more limited strategies for promoting educational change that are being increasingly used and can be advocated by sophisticated department staff. They include the pilot project; the demonstration pilot; the cadre approach (training a team of change agents in a school system); introduction of a change agent from outside the school system to act as a catalyst for change; establishing an experimental subsystem in a large school system; the "thing approach" (the strategy that seeks change through facilities, equipment, and instructional materials); the seeking and supply-

ing of information (the introduction of double entry bookkeeping or the taking of a racial census are dramatic in the changes introduced); and, finally, the systems approach (based on the premise that education is a complex of closely interrelated activities and a change in any one part of a system, therefore, has ramifications in others).

10. Finally, one very necessary provision in rounding out any existing circle of felicities in accelerating educational change, should be highlighted. Ample funds should be provided and handicapping limitations removed to enable professional staff to travel beyond the borders of their own state. No state has all the good ideas, and sometimes it helps to see something work first-hand. Professional competence can be improved by making it possible for employees to travel to outstanding educational innovations in operation in other parts of the country or even abroad, to stay at these locations for intensive study or extended saturation periods, and then to return to report on, put in practice, or disseminate information about what was learned.

RESEARCH AND COLLECTION OF INFORMATION

Too few state education departments have either research capabilities or research obligations. A department's research interests should encompass (a) internal, departmental management concerns and (b) external, field needs and opportunities for educational programs, materials, and methods. There are many ways to lead:

1. As in the case of innovation, a department's posture on change and research, its spirit, and the attitude of its personnel have much to do with creating a dynamic climate for research and experimental within a state.

2. A department should be so staffed that it can exercise some degree of leadership in organizing a state's total resources for engaging in educational research. In one state, the department took the initiative in creating an association of state educational research personnel, establishing formal liaison with key research personnel in the state's higher institutions, conducting annual research convocations, arranging for an inventory of research studies showing the gaps remaining, and then aggressively setting about to stimulate research needed. In short, a community of educational research interests was created.

3. By joining or maintaining close liaison with the newly developed regional educational laboratories and research and development centers, state education departments can contribute substantially to research developments. They can suggest needed research and facilitate cooperation between higher institutions and local school systems. By joining research groups and adopting a position of strong advocacy for research, state education departments are in good position to know when to suspend, at least temporarily, otherwise constraining state regulations, in order to create the most salutary climate for research and experimentation. This wise exercise of a regulatory function can, paradoxically, promote rather than inhibit change.

If education departments do not assume an obligation to encourage, assist, and participate in the development and conduct of such research groups, departments will be bypassed. These new complexes will succeed anyway, and their orientation will then be exclusively toward schools and the federal government.

4. Departments should have research personnel available who can provide technical advice and consultative assistance on research design in the development of locally sponsored research and experimental programs.

5. For a state education department to lead most effectively—in short, to have its suggestions adopted—it helps to have state funds set aside to supplement funds from federal and other sources for experimental purposes. Considering the increasingly large investment being made in education by the people of any given state, it seems only prudent that, as a matter of state policy, a modest sum should be set aside each year for experimentation and research, as risk and venture capital for maintaining a constant and systematic search for new and better ways of doing the educational job. It is the view of this author that comparatively little basic research should be conducted by state education department personnel. There are two exceptions: (1) an occasional project is good for intellectual refreshment; and (2) state aid costs and changing educational conditions being what they are, continuous departmental research on state aid is essential. But a department can hardly afford all the personnel needed to search out the answers to all problems and issues. A wise department, then, is one that knows how to identify needed projects, is able to enlist the interests of competent research people, and hopefully, can assist in financing them.

6. The availability of federal funds for research in vocational education should enable some departments to expand their research capabilities in this field. Opportunities are thus opened to coordinate research in vocational education throughout those sectors of the higher educational community competent to perform such research. Often such coordination will involve interrelationships with other state education departments and higher institutions in other states.

7. Status studies on the condition of education are an important responsibility of a research component in a state education department. Basic data as well as testing or evaluative results are necessary for making such studies.

8. A capable research unit is the proper setting for a highly developed information system for gathering basic educational data about elementary and secondary education. Information is necessary for decision making and long-range planning, not to mention interpretation of the status and progress of education to the public, state legislative representatives, and the educational community.

Two kinds of data are necessary: (a) basic frame-of-reference data, and (b) specific program data. The first category covers information that describes the expected conditions of environment in which a department's programs will operate, and comprises the framework within which a department can plan its role, set its objectives, and apply its resources. It takes the form of long- and short-term growth rates and projections on the size of the educational task, the range and kinds of resources probably required, and anticipated needs and new opportunities for a department. These kinds of data highlight the difference between the educational needs of today and those of the future, help to pinpoint particular program areas and outline opportunities for improvements or new approaches in departmental programs, and assist in the defining of program objectives. A second category of data is the information that defines individual programs conducted by the department.

Electronic data processing and closed-circuit television, particularly the first technology, are essential components in supplying and receiving basic educational data with accuracy and dispatch. State education departments. in planning the establishment of information systems, will have to consider two things: (1) the necessity to cooperate with federal officials (compelled by their own planning and accountability requirements of reporting to Congress and to their many advisory groups to secure information) in order to ensure that data systems are compatible, thus avoiding much duplication of effort at state and local levels; and (2) unless state education departments establish sophisticated information systems, they will soon find that Washington has to go directly to local institutions in order to secure data, thus bypassing the states.

EVALUATION

State education departments may have been exhorted for years to institute evaluation systems or systems of quality measurement and performance for determining the condition of education within their state borders, but not much has been accomplished, probably for several reasons including: (a) the obsession of local control; (b) the fear of pitiless publicity on the results; (c) education was not a national commitment; (d) evaluation was only voluntary, not mandated; (e) the difficulty of the task; (f) the belief that the important outcomes of education cannot be measured; (g) inadequate knowledge base; and (h) lack of capacity for handling voluminous data.

Now things are different. It is now clear that: (a) education is considered important; (b) legislative requirements on evaluation (Title I, ESEA), the growth of the program budgeting, and increasing public concern with the effectiveness of education in relation to costs will compel systematic evaluation; (c) there are mounting convictions that the problem must be conquered simply "because it is there"; (d) there is a growing body of knowledge in the field of education and in the behavioral sciences which can be brought to bear on the problem; and (e) electronic data processing has an infinite capacity for storing, processing and retrieval of information.

Only the fears of excessive control over the local schools and their curriculums and of pitiless public visibility on the comparative weaknesses and strengths of local schools, remain to be eroded. Such fears are expressed most frequently by weak administrators and school systems—those who think they have a right to be as bad as they want to be. Similarly, states not especially noted for their educational strengths are the ones who resist any attempt on the part of federal government to assess the status of our educational system. Why, as John Fischer has asked, should a testing program become a federal offense the moment it crosses a state line and comprehends more than one state?

Someone has remarked that "control" is strictly an amoral term: "It becomes either immoral or moral depending on how control is exercised and for what purposes." At any rate, it seems highly unlikely that governmental control of the stultifying, rigid kind envisioned by these stout resistors would ever evolve within the American framework of thought and action. It is in our native blood to maintain diversity and dispersed, innovative initiatives.

Evaluation has two dimensions: One aspect pertains to measurement of educational performance in an educational system, the other to the outcomes of department-sponsored or -administered programs. Both external and internal evaluative research is needed for decision making and long-range planning purposes.

Internally, the concern is with the development of cost effectiveness or cost-benefit analyses as the basis for reevaluating the allocation of available resources. The question is: What analytical techniques can be developed for balancing educational effectiveness against the cost of producing it and for evaluating comparative costs of alternate ways of producing the same degree of effectiveness?

In the review of a department's regulatory activities and its guidance and coordination services, several searching questions must be asked (which can be effectively answered) as to whether such activities and services can be improved, discarded, or delegated, only if evaluative techniques are employed both at the state and local levels.*

Only those educators who are members of the Flat Earth Society are prepared to bet that the educational community will not be called upon to provide increased accountability to its many constituencies for the financial support received. Better evaluative techniques will need to be developed and employed in order to make more rational the decision-making process in education for the sake of justifying additional support and of enhancing the teaching and learning process and its efficiency.

It will not be easy. As a political scientist said recently:

> . . . if attempts are not made to develop information systems and program planning and budgeting systems, of wide, as well as detailed, applicability, how can the fundamental political questions of wise resource allocation be answered? The accounting aspects of the problem are simple compared to the conceptual problems inherent in applying cost-benefit analysis to soft services.[17]

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*For an elaboration of the comments on appraising the outcomes of teaching and learning, and on the use of various indicators relating to how well the schools are doing, see a discussion by this author in *Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Education, op. cit.*, pp. 316-17.

INTERPRETATION AND INVOLVEMENT

State education departments have not been well known for their capacity or competence to interpret education and the services and functions they perform, to the public, legislators, and to the educational community. Few departments are organized to collect, interpret, and disseminate information on the condition, progress, and needs of education so that the public knows the needs, has guidance in making wise choices, and is helped in expressing a collective will. This deficiency is glaring at a time when education has become identified with the nation's welfare and the schools have surfaced to prominent view in the political arena.

The department that performs the functions previously outlined will have a public information office that draws on the various units within the department for the issues, materials, and data needed to interpret needs, opportunities, and accomplishments. A sophisticated and aggressive information office can furnish the technical competence for disseminating intelligible information through the most appropriate medium.

Keeping legislators and the public well informed about education is of course mutually enriching: The public knows what is going on; the department thus acknowledges its accountability and is rewarded with the confidence (and probably additional financial support) it deserves.

An aggressive department engaged in more than regulatory functions, will recognize, too, the compelling necessity for greater involvement of advisory groups of various kinds using experts, educators, lay citizens, business leaders, and legislators in order to help the department to assess progress, to develop new programs and services, to solve pressing problems, to interpret decisions and plans of state boards, to revise regulations, etc. A greater lateral outreach to those who have a stake in the eventual decisions made by civil government provides rich dividends. Consensus strengthens later central decisions because it is known in advance that there will be constituencies which will support them. The technique of involvement helps, too, to rupture the stereotypes (the process of caricature-assassination) of bureaucracy to which units of civil government are subject. Finally, the involvement of others aids in disseminating information about what a department is doing.

Internal Organization and Administration

This section will be devoted to some observations on changes in internal organization and administration of the state education departments that are likely to be needed as a result of the general impact of the forces now bearing upon these departments.

THE REGULATORY FUNCTION

In a day of rapid change, state education departments aspiring to become viable leadership agencies will need to place greater emphasis on policy control and on high-priority guidance and coordination activities at all levels. Such activities are becoming the primary means by which a department can accomplish its basic mission of ensuring that a high quality education is available to all people in the state. This change in role will force a continuing search for ways to delegate authority for less important administrative and operating activities, whether regulatory or service functions, to local agencies and to regional or national groups, e.g., a national or regional accrediting agency. The argument is that *a state education department's basic responsibility is not necessarily to provide a service or perform a function itself, but to ensure its provision in the most effective way.*

To minimize a department's allocations of its resources for regulatory functions and to make sure that all service programs are essential, each activity must be analyzed to determine answers to the following questions:

1. Does the activity need to be performed at all?

2. If it must be performed, can it be delegated to the local districts (at least to the stronger ones) or to other appropriate institutions or agencies?

3. If it cannot be delegated, what are the cost/value relationships for the department? Is there a better way for the department to perform the activity?

4. Can the department provide the same level of benefits by (a) developing and disseminating quality standards and guidelines for local use; (b) auditing the performance of the local agency against the standards; and (c) providing guidance and assistance to those elements that are below standard?

No matter how a department deals with its regulatory functions, it must be responsible for establishing minimum standards below which local school systems are not allowed to go, and for acquiring the necessary professional resources for enforcing them. Our society is one based on an Anglo-Saxon heritage, socially and legally. It operates on the basis of minimum standards for behavior and performance below which people and institutions are not permitted to fall. No school system should have the freedom in this modern day to ignore the need for maintaining a minimum level of educational expectations—a level that is constantly rising.

Since local school systems do not uniformly set such standards for themselves, the state must, and if a state will not, the federal government eventually will. Both local and state initiatives are needed to pose high ideals of excellence in the Greek sense in order to raise aspirations and the prevailing level of educational expectations.

This, then, is the increasing role of a state education department: *To minimize regulatory functions and, instead, to provide such assistance to local school systems as will enable them to go beyond any given level of quality*. A department should work not by mandate nor by compulsion but by pointing to a better way.

But this discussion of the regulatory function should not be misinterpreted. Riesman has stated that "bureaucracy is essential for fairness in the administration of any complex task." Taking the word "bureaucracy" in its benevolent and enlightened sense, and not pejoratively, it follows that regulatory functions are basic to a governmental agency from which all of its leadership and innovative potential flows. Regulatory functions can give thrust and character to the creative and coordinating services provided by a department. And imaginative use of regulatory functions in and of themselves, can assist in effecting change, not inhibiting it. In short, the regulatory function goes far in creating the setting in which all other activities are effective or not.

A state education department will know when it has achieved a leadership position; that is when it has the prestige in both its service and regulatory operations to support almost uniform compliance throughout a state while acting almost solely in a service capacity. (A wise observer will note that language can also make a difference. The sad words in the inhibitive exercise of the regulatory function are regulations, rules, mandates, and controls. The happy, persuasive ones flowing from an opposite creative role, are service, assistance, monitoring, and auditing.)

Teacher certification is a traditional, regulatory function of state education departments, but the day of course-counting, credit-picking, and transcript-scrutiny is over. States are finding it useful to accredit institutional programs and to certify individual students automatically upon graduation based on a simple listing of names furnished by the institution. Provoked by the constructively abrasive recommendations of James B. Conant, one state has suspended all state regulations on teacher education for five higher institutions in order to promote more creative programs of teacher preparation, with the department acting as instigator, supplier of funds, monitor, coordinator, and critic. Graduates of the experimental programs are automatically granted certification on recommendation of the institution. Interstate cooperation in certification on a regional-national basis is fostering reciprocity between the states and eliminating the barriers to increased mobility of teachers.

Another state is delegating to local superintendents—on a selective basis—authority to certify teachers, thus relieving the state of the administrative burden. Again, reliance on accreditation by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education and on the results of the National Teacher Examination relieves some states of detailed administration.

Certification requirements are increasingly being stated in broad, general terms instead of specific course credits. Finally, certification requirements are being suspended in some states in order to accommodate teachers from foreign countries who do not intend to become citizens of the state in which they are to teach and who could not possibly meet the usual certification requirements. The purpose of doing so, of course, is to foster educational exchange and greater international understanding.

The foregoing imaginative procedures keep control of the regulatory function in the hands of the state, but conserve resources for more important services simultaneously as other educational purposes are advanced and administrative effectiveness increased.

ORGANIZATIONAL FLEXIBILITY

In a day of rapid expansion and change, a state education department interested in assuming an innovative and leadership role will soon perceive that to be effective, its procedural practices and organizational structure must be flexible to accommodate administrative expansion, to permit modifications, and to discard low priority functions and programs without undue difficulty. In short, the task is to erect an administrative structure which can readily ingest, digest, or disgorge activities, whether these are funded by state, federal or private foundation funds.

This is not easy to do. The spirit of an agency has much to do with the grace of its movement, regardless of organization, but structure helps. Large comprehensive and coherent line administrative units (versus detailed compartmentalization or "atomism packed tight") lend themselves to orderly change and also provide clear definition of internal responsibility and accountability.

INCREASED NEED FOR INTERNAL ADMINISTRATIVE COORDINATION

Federal programming in particular, but also the general trend toward interlocking complexity and interdependence insomuch as it affects education, will influence a department's administrative pattern and organization. Formal internal provision for administrative coordination among interrelated offices and activities within a department, is essential.

Voluntary inter-unit communication and coordination are always necessary, but even if natural and amicable, they can no longer cope administratively with the complicated, large-scale, broad-purpose, often technical tasks that must be assumed. Unless a department recognizes this growing complication calling for effective organizational changes, an inordinate amount of time will be spent trying to achieve programmatic purposes and to reduce tensions and conflicts between related and competing offices. Administrative officers especially charged with coordinating functions will be needed and clear policies on articulation promulgated.

There is a peculiar phenomenon associated with federal programming in particular—or with any departmental services and administrative functions not wholly supported by state funds. An administrative law might be formulated: Like chameleons, professional departmental employees tend to take on the coloration of the particular funds which furnish their employment. Commitments and loyalties of professional employees within a single department can be as diverse as the sources of the funds—federal, state, foundation, or other private funds—which support them or the programs to which they administer.

It is not infrequent, for instance, that employees administering to an important federal program will feel stronger loyalties and ties to federal objectives and respond more readily to federal directives and guidelines than they will to state or departmental goals and instructions. A case in point is vocational education. For too long, those who administered a state's vocational education program, largely or wholly supported by federal funds, carried on like an almost autonomous, isolated unit within many departments. They constituted an enclave. Recent efforts in some departments to bring vocational education into more intimate relationship with other disciplines and curricular activities and with technical and vocational programs at the community college level, have been met with pronounced strain, conflict, and tension. And the vocational education sector in the U.S. Office of Education, until recently, was as much responsible for this state of affairs as the states themselves.

At any rate, the importance of making deliberate provisions for administrative coordination within a department is heightened by increased federal programming. It takes strong and daily effort to administer a mixed economy.

Mission-Orientation and Task Force Development

Warren G. Bennis,[18] Professor of Organizational Psychology and Management and head of the Organization Studies Group of the Alfred P. Sloan School of Management at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in a provocative article entitled "The Coming Death of Bureaucracy," suggests that such forces as rapid and unexpected change; growth in size where the volume of an organization's traditional activities is not enough to sustain growth; the complexity of modern technology where integration between activities and persons of very diverse and highly specialized competence is required; and a basically psychological threat springing from a change in managerial behavior—all of these threaten the end of the hierarchically organized bureaucratic structure. He emphasizes, as this paper does, the growing interdependence and interlocking complexity of social and organizational behavior.

And we turn to Alvin Weinberg, Director of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, for another and related illumination of a facet of our society which may have meaning for state education departments:

> Our society is 'mission-oriented.' Its mission is resolution of problems arising from social, technical and psychological conflicts and pressures. Since these problems are not generated within any single intellectual discipline, their resolution is not to be found within a single discipline. Society's standards of achievement are set pragmatically: what works is excellent, whether or not it falls into a neatly classified discipline. In society the non-specialist and synthesizer is king.

What do these characteristics of society and developments portend for state education departments?

One can anticipate that a department will increasingly utilize the task force or team form of organization calling for the collaboration of specialists in a project. The task force type of organization is especially suited to implementing the purposes of much federal legislation and to solving some of the complex educational problems with which state educational departments and localities are confronted.

The task force type of administrative operation "pools and coordinates the talents of diverse individuals with widely varying skills" and even differing institutional commitments.

Mr. Bennis describes the unique characteristics of organizations of the future:

> The key word will be 'temporary.' There will be adaptive, rapidly changing temporary systems. These will be task forces organized around problems-to-be-solved by groups of relative strangers with diverse professional skills. The group will be arranged on an organic rather than mechanical model; they will evolve in response to a problem rather than to programmed role expectations. The executive thus becomes a coordinator or 'linking pin' between various task forces. He must be a man who can speak the polyglot jargon of research, with skills to relay information and to mediate between groups. People will be evaluated not vertically according to rank and status, but flexibly and functionally according to skill and professional training. Organizational charts will consist of project groups rather than stratified functional groups.
>
> Adaptive, problem-solving, temporary systems of diverse specialists, linked together by coordinating and task-evaluating executive specialists in an organic flux—this is the organization form that will gradually replace bureaucracy as we know it. Organizational arrangements of this sort may not only reduce the intergroup conflicts mentioned earlier; it may also induce honest-to-goodness creative collaboration.
>
> I think that the future I describe is not necessarily a 'happy' one. Coping with rapid change, living in temporary work systems, developing meaningful relations and then breaking them—all augur social strains and psychological tensions. Teaching how to live with ambiguity, to identify with the adaptive process, to make a virtue out of contingency, and to be self-directing—these will be the tasks of education, the goals of maturity, and the achievement of the successful individual.[19]

Implementing Title I of ESEA, whose purpose is to put the educationally disadvantaged on an equal footing with other contemporaries who have benefitted from better opportunities, is a mission-oriented type of legislation. So is the Model Cities Program. The Center on Innovation proposal described earlier is firmly rooted in the accomplishment of a mission. Program budgeting is highly relevant for analyzing the complex inputs and outputs of broad, mission-oriented programs.

The problems of urban education are so vast and intensive that they are beyond the abilities of one person to comprehend, let alone control, and cut sharply across any internal organizational lines established by a state education department. The establishment of a modestly staffed Office of Urban Education gives high public visibility to the concerns of the state for education in urban areas, provides a focus for coordinating internal relationships with large cities, and helps to redress the imbalance of rural orientation still characteristic of some departments.

The growing trend in secondary schools to offer humanities courses and to enrich their regular activities and curriculums with the artistic creations and productions of professional performing arts groups and virtuoso performers involves the bridging of traditional disciplinary lines for the accomplishment of a broader goal. One state education department is establishing a Center on the Humanities and Performing Arts for the express purpose of fostering international understanding of foreign cultures, redressing the social and value imbalances caused by a technological society, and contributing to the achievement of a cultural democracy. The administrative unit has a mission which can only be carried out by a collaborating team of specialists.

Establishing a state level program to achieve desegregation and racial integration in the schools is an educational enterprise not narrowly conceived. It requires long-range planning, complicated execution, and the ministrations of a variety of sensitive specialists devoted to a mission having moral, social, and legal roots.

Imposing one or more task-force, mission-oriented projects on a classical, steeply hierarchical, bureaucratic structure of a state education department unsettles the familiar, induces tensions, creates conflicts, and results in some social cost. The answer is simple: Usual fixed lines of authority are broken and neat areas of responsibility are made ambiguous; some personnel adjust readily, others do not.

DECENTRALIZATION OF ADMINISTRATION

Finally, some large and heavily populated states will find it necessary to decentralize the administration of many of their services and functions, for several compelling reasons including the need: (1) to be more responsive to local needs; (2) to speed the sheer process of doing business; (3) to achieve better planning and coordination of resources and programs; and (4) to accelerate the process of change.

The establishment, with state assistance and planning, of Title III, ESEA supplementary centers may furnish some states with regional foci for the foregoing purposes. Other states will establish intrastate regional offices, wholly state supported. One state is experimenting with decentralization by locating its own personnel in the local administrative headquarters of large city school systems in order to carry out certain programs (for instance, Title I, ESEA.) The formation of large intermediate units or boards providing shared cooperative educational services afford another means of decentralizing certain department services.

Relationships With Other States and the Federal Government

Up until the recent past, there was little if any effective cooperation or relationships between neighboring state education departments, let alone those in non-contiguous states. To be sure, there were annual gatherings of chief state school officers in distinct geographical sections of the country, but their productivity (meaning the real improvement of educational opportunity, its quality and efficiency) has been at best questionable. Stated most cynically, many such sessions were devoted to unconstructive criticism of the federal government and poorly chanted litanies of woe.

The increasing national interest in education and federal financing, even of state education departments, has changed all of this. So have the growth of metropolitan areas which cross state lines; the nature of educational problems (like integration) which cross state and school district boundaries; the establishment of research and development groups over wide geographical areas to ponder research problems and means of innovation; the formation of educational-industrial complexes to furnish better educational materials and which are national and regional in scope and significance—all of these are forcing state education departments to recognize that they are losing some, at least, of their identity as well as their authority in the historical sense of being sovereign, isolated entities.

Section 505 of Title V, ESEA, in particular, has provided opportunities for several states to band together in regional and national groups to solve many of their common problems in such fields as educational television, improvement of communication and public information, educational assessment, teacher preparation, teacher certification, international education, the role of demonstration centers, educational informational systems, fiscal and personnel accounting, instructional materials, preschool programs, school district reorganization, pupil transportation, and the role of state education agencies.

Vocational education research funds have fostered cooperation between states, and between states and higher institutions.

The direction of the future is clear: regional and national cooperation between the states; the gradual relinquishment of "territorial imperatives"; the still guarded but growing partnership with the federal government; a rising level of competence in all state education departments; and a trend toward greater uniformity.

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CHAPTER 4

The Economics and Financing of Education[†]

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What financial inputs will be necessary in the school social system in 1980 to produce the quantity and quality of school outputs (education) required by the components of the school environment (society) at that time? What financial inputs will be necessary to develop the total talent potential of the student body? What impact will increased allocations of the gross national product to education have on the total economy? What will be the effects of different types of taxes on different sectors of the private economy? What will be the effects of different formulas for distributing school funds from central (state and federal) governments? How can school financing patterns inhibit or facilitate change in the school social system? Can cost-benefit systems analysis be used to determine the financial inputs to the school social system without measuring the social benefits as well as the individual benefits of the school outputs? None of these questions can be answered adequately without giving due consideration to our total social system with its many galaxies of systems and subsystems.

Designing education for the future implies planning. Good planning must be based on a sound conceptual design which incorporates the desired goals of education and the means for attaining those goals. Such a design cannot be formulated from a mass of detailed information on various areas of education such as the economics of education, the financing of education, the curriculum, educational organization, and educational administration. The planner must focus not on details but on the basic concepts from each of these areas and other related areas.

The educational system (the macro-system) is conceptualized as a total social system with many subsystems. Each of these subsystems interacts with each other subsystem and also with elements in the environment of these systems. But this is not all. The educational system has financial inputs and student inputs and it has student outputs and non-student outputs.[1][**] The system also has mechanisms for making decisions and carrying them out. These mechanisms of the organizational structure for making and implementing decisions delineate the boundaries of the supra-systems

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The section of this chapter devoted to the economics of education is applicable to both public and nonpublic education. The sections on finance deal only with public education.

[**] Numbers refer to footnote references at end of Chapter 4.

(e.g., federal, state) and the subsystems (e.g., school systems, schools, educational institutions) of the total system. *Institutional systems* have been provided at all levels of government for making decisions on educational policy. At the federal level, we have the Congress; at the state level, the legislative bodies and state boards of education and of higher education; and, at the local level, boards of education and sometimes other local agencies. *Managerial systems* have been provided for at the federal level, at the state level and at the local level. The *technical systems,* comprised of teachers and other types of personnel, are at the operating level. The subsystem at the base of the hierarchy is the student body. All of these subsystems interact with each other but each system tends to be more responsive to the signals received from its supra-systems than to the signals received from its subsystems.

Under the American system of education the most visible part of the total school system (that is, the macro-system) is the local school system with its board of education, the superintendent and his staff, the individual school with its principal, teachers, and other supporting staff, and the student body. This local school system (which we will call a social system) exists in an environment consisting of parents and other people—most of whom belong to one or more other social systems in the school environment which are interacting with the school social system. Each social system in our total society, including the school social system, strives to survive. In order for a social system to survive, it must meet the needs of the components of the system and the outputs of the system must be acceptable to the recipients of the outputs in the environment. The recipients of the outputs of the school social system evaluate the outputs of the system and provide feedback for the institutional decision makers and the managers of the system. If the school system is a closed social system and refuses to receive and evaluate signals from its environment, it is not likely to survive very long in this rapidly changing world.

This brief description of social systems theory as it relates to school social systems has been presented because it is essential to the understanding of some of the basic concepts of the economics and financing of education.

This chapter provides a brief analysis of the economics and financing of education. In order to present this subject within the framework of social systems theory, it will be necessary to make certain assumptions that are well supported in the publications of the project, *Designing Education for the Future,* and by many studies reported in numerous other publications.

Some Important Assumptions

In order to project a design for the financing of public education in 1980, it is necessary to make defensible assumptions such as those discussed below, concerning changes in society by 1980, the educational program that will be required to meet social and individual needs at that time, and the organizational arrangements for planning and administering the program.

SOME ASSUMPTIONS CONCERNING CHANGES IN SOCIETY THAT WILL AFFECT SCHOOL FINANCING

It is assumed that the rate of change in society between the present time and 1980 will be at least as great as it has been during the past 15 years. A number of authorities have made estimates of the present rate of change of scientific knowledge. These authorities have generally concluded that the volume of scientific knowledge is doubling every ten to fifteen years. This rapid growth of scientific knowledge has triggered an accelerated rate of technological change which, in turn, has resulted in fundamental changes in our social system. We have changed since the beginning of the industrial revolution from a *labor intensive* society to a *capital intensive* society, and now, through the science of cybernetics, *we are evolving into a brain intensive society.** We have substituted mechanical power for human and animal power but the original process was incomplete. Human beings were placed in tandem on production lines to do the work that could not be done by the imperfect machinery with which our factories and industries were equipped thirty years ago. But as we developed more sophisticated machinery automated by computers and other devices using the science of cybernetics, this relatively uneducated and unskilled labor became surplus in our society. Much of that unwanted labor is now congregated in the slums of our great cities. Manpower experts have estimated that, by 1985, only about five percent of our labor force will be needed for unskilled labor, about 75 percent will need some type of post-secondary education, and that the typical worker will need to acquire the skills and knowledge required for three different occupations during his working years. We are indeed evolving into a brain intensive society.

All available evidence indicates that these societal trends will continue. As a matter of fact some informed authorities believe that the rate of change of society will be much greater during the next fifteen or twenty years than it has been during the past two decades. These technological changes have had a tremendous impact on our total social system because they have caused changes in practically every subsystem of our social system. For example, we have changed from an agrarian to an urban society and the role of the family is quite different in these two societies. Each factory, each business, each church, each school—in fact every organization of any kind—is a social subsystem. All of these subsystems of our total society have been compelled to change in order to survive. If the human beings who are the components of these organizations have not also been able to change in accordance with the times, they have found life indeed frustrating. These changes in society have many implications for the educational system.

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*Another way of stating this concept is that we have changed from the beginning of the industrial revolution from a labor intensive society to a physical capital intensive society and now into a human capital intensive society. That is, in the future our total social system will require proportionately a greater increase in the investment in human capital than in physical capital.

SOME ASSUMPTIONS CONCERNING THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

When technology produced the farm tractor and work horses became obsolete, and therefore surplus, we had but little difficulty in solving the problem. The manufacturers of dog food provided a ready market for the surplus horses on hand and we avoided creating another surplus by sharply reducing the breeding of horses. But these solutions are not available for dealing with a surplus of obsolete human beings. Our society demands that adult humans perform useful work (except for a small minority who live on inherited wealth) if they are to survive in our economic system or that they suffer the indignity of existing on public welfare or private charity. At the other end of the scale our society requires highly educated humans in order to advance knowledge and to utilize and apply existing knowledge.

Children and adults vary enormously in their capacity to profit from learning experiences provided in the elementary and secondary schools, the higher institutions of learning and other formal educational institutions. These variations are due to cultural influences, heredity, disease, accident, effort, opportunity and other factors. At one time it was believed by many educators that the principal cause of variations in achievement was a relatively uncontrollable factor: heredity. However the evidence is mounting that most of the variations in educational achievement are caused by factors which can be controlled or modified. This relatively recent concept is resulting in significant changes in the role of every school and its relationship to factors in the school environment that affect pupil success. Furthermore modern public schools no longer set artificial standards which must be attained by everyone, but rather attempt to develop the talent of each child to its maximum potential.

Based on this brief summary and on other available evidence the following assumptions are made concerning the educational program that will be needed in 1980:

- There will be a major extension downward of the public school system to include early childhood education. This program may be extended downward even to children two or three years of age, especially for the children of the culturally deprived.
- Programs of exceptional education for the handicapped and the gifted and programs of compensatory education for the culturally deprived will be greatly extended.
- Post-secondary educational programs and programs of continuing education throughout the entire life of adults will be made available throughout the nation.
- Our present school term of 175 to 180 days will be extended to approximately 210 days which is the typical school term provided in the most advanced countries of the world. Most teachers will be employed on a 12-month basis and pupils will have organized school learning experiences available throughout the year.

Since the school social system exists in an environment which is evolving into a brain intensive or a human capital intensive society, it can be anticipated that the public demand for increasing both the quantity and the quality of education will increase. The public will demand a higher quality of education provided by schools staffed with better qualified teachers who must continue their education throughout their working years. This demand will add to the push for a brain intensive school social system.

SOME ASSUMPTIONS CONCERNING EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

The structure of organizations in the private sector of the economy is controlled largely by the requirements of the market. That is, if a private school system (organization) is inefficient in structure or management, it receives prompt feedback from its environment in the form of declining profits. If the private business organization does not heed those signals and meet its environmental requirements for improved efficiency, it will fail to survive. Unfortunately governmental organizations (including educational organizations) do not have sufficient external pressures to force quickly the changes that are needed in structure and management. In fact much of the feedback received from the school environment, up to the present, has been in opposition to desirable organizational change. Despite this situation, we have been moving toward improved educational organization at all levels of government—federal, state and local. The number of local school districts in the nation has been reduced from more than 130,000 to less than 24,000 in the past forty years. In order for local school districts to attain reasonable economy of scale in operation and in order to provide high quality local leadership, the number of local school districts should be further reduced to approximately 2,500. This is necessary if maximum educational outputs are to be achieved from increased financial inputs. In future years, it is assumed that feedback from the school environment will give greater emphasis to the quality of the output of the educational organization and less emphasis to localism. This should result in an accelerated rate of improvement in local educational organization because the demand that we maximize the quality and quantity of the educational output for a given quantity of financial input is becoming more insistent.

It is also becoming more apparent that, in order to maximize the desired educational output for a given quantity of input, we need well organized and competent educational agencies at the state and federal levels as well as at the local level. However, we do not conceptualize that the educational organization will evolve as a hierarchical, pyramidal structure with the federal educational agency on top, the state educational agencies at the next level and local educational agencies at the bottom of the pyramid.[2] We do assume that we are evolving toward a social systems model with federal, state and local educational agencies interacting with each other as peers and not as superordinates and subordinates. This model assumes that we will have a strong, well staffed, capable federal educational agency; strong, well staffed state education agencies; and strong, well staffed local education agencies. Education agencies of this type maximize the possibilities for desirable change and innovation and also facilitate the maximization of desirable outputs from the educational organization.

The Economics of Education

The central *topic* of economics is the allocation of resources and the central *concept* is scarcity.[3] The classical economists have given great emphasis to the study of the behavior of individuals and firms and to price formation, but have given very little attention to aggregates such as level of employment and national income. The emphasis of economists on the small aspect, or the particle, is called *micro-economics*. During the last few decades, much emphasis has been given to the study of aggregates, or *macro-economics*. This recent emphasis is sometimes called Keynesian economics after its famous advocate, John Maynard Keynes. Both micro-economics and macro-economics have provided many useful concepts. However, the macro-economic approach has been particularly useful in studying certain educational problems. Therefore, that approach will be used primarily in applying some economic concepts to education.

EDUCATION AND THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Let us first take a look at the size of the educational economy in relation to the total economy. The United States Office of Education has estimated that the total expenditures for elementary, secondary and higher education (including both public and nonpublic) increased from 3.14 percent of the gross national product in 1929 to 6.62 percent in 1965.[4] This means that the proportion of the gross national product allocated to education has more than doubled during the past 36 years. The percent of the gross national product being allocated to all education has been increasing at the rate of approximately .5 percent per year. Assuming this same rate of increase, approximately 7.6 percent of the gross national product was allocated to all organized education in 1967. Thus, the total expenditure for all education was in excess of 56 billions of dollars.

What percent of the gross national product will be allocated for all levels of education, public and nonpublic, by 1980? It is difficult to develop an accurate estimate but present trends indicate that it is not unreasonable to estimate that at least 12 percent of the gross national product will be allocated to all education by 1980. *Education is indeed a growth industry*. It is as much a part of the total economy as any other sector of our economy. Education provides employment and it produces services needed by the total economy. It contributes to the gross national product in the same manner as any other industry. Sometimes educational officials have been prone to apologize for increasing educational costs. If the percent of the gross national product allocated to the production of steel doubled, the leaders of the steel industry would boast of the increased contribution of the steel industry to the gross national product. There is no reason why educational leaders should not follow a similar policy.

Expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools totaled \$2,317,000,000 in 1929-30 (approximately 2.2 percent of the gross national product); \$5,838,000,000 in 1949-50 (approximately 2.0 percent of the gross national product); and \$27,946,000,000 in 1966-67 (approximately 3.8 percent of the gross national product). What proportion of the gross national product will be allocated to expenditures for public elementary and secondary education in 1980? In 1967, about one-half of the total expenditures for all education were made in the public elementary and secondary schools. Assuming that this same percentage relationship continues to 1980 it seems reasonable to estimate that approximately 6 percent of the gross national product will be allocated to the public elementary and secondary schools in 1980.

EDUCATION AS AN ECONOMIC GOOD

The economic system provides an arrangement for the production, exchange and consumption of whatever is needed to satisfy human wants. In terms of economics, anything that satisfies a human want is a *good.* The economy produces goods to satisfy human wants. There are many ways to classify goods. Let us look at a few of these classifications with special reference to education.

If a *good* is scarce and capable of being allocated, it is called an economic good as contrasted with a free good such as air. Economics is concerned only with economic goods and education is an economic good regardless of whether it is produced in the public or in the private economy.

Economic goods are either material or non-material. A *material good* is physical and tangible. A *non-material good* is a service rendered which satisfies a human want. Education is a non-material good. The production of education is sometimes considered by legislators and others as a burden on the economy. But is this defensible? Is the production of any good which satisfies a human want a burden on the economy? Is it a burden on the economy to produce food or steel or medical services or legal services? From the standpoint of economics, the production of any economic good that satisfies a human want is an *addition* to the total economy rather than a subtraction from it.

Let us further examine the thesis that the production of education is not a burden on the economy. One of the most important aspirations of all nations is a rising standard of living of the people. This can be attained only in a growing economy which produces and distributes an increasing per capita volume of economic goods.

In a primitive civilization, practically all human effort is allocated to the production of goods which satisfy primary wants such as food and shelter. These wants must be satisfied almost entirely by material goods. When an economy has advanced to the point where it has some productive capacity remaining after satisfying primary wants, it begins to produce goods which satisfy cultural or secondary wants. Secondary wants are satisfied by both material goods and non-material goods. Anthropologists have found that even in primitive civilizations, man attempted to satisfy such non-material wants as art and music, communication, the education of the young and healing the sick.

As a civilization advances, the proportion of the total economy allocated to the production of non-material goods increases and the proportion allocated to the production of material goods decreases. *One of the best indicators of the level of the civilization of a country is the proportion of the productive capacity of the economy allocated to the production of non-material goods.* It is true that the total volume and variety of material goods produced in an advancing civilization continues to increase but the production of non-material goods increases at a faster rate. This is inevitable because there is a limit to the per capita consumption of many types of material goods which satisfy human wants but there seem to be very few limits on the per capita consumption of many types of non-material goods.[5] For example, the human being can consume only a limited number of calories or pounds of food per day if he maximizes his chances of survival. On the other hand, there seems to be no limit to the amount of education he can consume, despite the fact that people vary greatly in their capacity to consume education.

An economy can get out of equilibrium when it produces more material goods than are wanted and less non-material goods than are needed. The American civilization is noted for its capacity to produce material goods. We are capable of producing, and are producing, a surplus of most of the kinds of material goods we consume. On the other hand, our economy has not produced a surplus of any important non-material good. For example, education, medical, hospital care, wholesome recreation, good art and music, and worthwhile literature have always been in short supply. Our civilization has been called a materialistic civilization. As our civilization matures, can our economy continue to grow if we remain primarily a materialistic civilization? Would the production of a greater volume of non-material goods promote the growth of our economy and a continued increase in the national standard of living? Viewed in this context, should the production of education be considered a burden on the economy or as an asset?

Let us now examine the effect of our changing economy on the curricula of the schools and colleges. Economists make another distinction between classes of goods which is of fundamental importance to an understanding of the economy and of education. Both material and non-material goods can be classified as either producer's goods or consumer's goods. A good used by a consumer to satisfy his wants is a consumer's good and a good used in the process of producing other goods is a producer's good. *Education is both a producer's good and a consumer's good.* When knowledge and skills are acquired for the purpose of becoming a physician, a teacher, an engineer, a lawyer, a mechanic—or for any objective the major purpose of which is to produce a material or non-material good—education is a producer's good. But when knowledge is acquired to enrich one's own life by increasing his capacity to use, enjoy, or appreciate any material or non-material good that satisfies human wants, education is a consumer's good. It would be futile to produce such economic goods as art, music, literature, medical care, electric power, complicated machines and governmental services if the individuals in the population were too ignorant, too prejudiced, or too superstitious to enjoy them. Education increases human wants. It would also be futile to increase human wants by education unless at the same time education produced a society with the productive capacity necessary to satisfy the material and non-material wants of the population.

THE AMOUNT OF MONEY THAT SHOULD BE INVESTED IN EDUCATION

One of the major goals of the people of this country is to have a growing economy accompanied by a rising standard of living of the total population. How should we allocate our current production in order to maximize our possibilities for attaining this goal?

The economic concepts of investment and saving are very important in studying this problem. In the terminology of economics, the economy of a country is developed through the formation of capital. Investment is defined as the incurring of costs for the purpose of adding to capital. The costs so incurred must be obtained by saving. When people save, they refrain from consuming that part of current income which is added to capital. These concepts are easy to understand when applied to the investment of savings in a factory which produces material goods. The factory with its machines represents the capital which has been formed. But it is not easy to apply these concepts to the formation of the education capital that is created when we construct and equip a school or college building. The principal products of factories are consumer's goods, not capital goods, whereas the products of educational institutions are all capital goods in the form of persons whose productivity and capacity for enjoying an enriched life have been increased. Therefore, it can be argued that practically all educational expenditures represent an investment in people.

As will be recalled, the central topic of economics is the allocation of resources and the central concept is scarcity. This means that we have alternative choices as to what to do with our resources. We can consume all of our current production or we can consume part of it and save part of it. What we save we must invest or we will reduce the current income stream and cause a decline in the economy. But we have alternative choices with respect to what investments we make. For example, will we invest all of our savings in physical capital or will we invest some of them in people and if so, how much? These are not easy questions to answer.

The individual or householder allocates resources in the private sector of the economy by "voting" with his dollar expenditures and in the public economy by voting with his ballot. Consumer spending even in the private economy is a perplexing problem to economists. Consumer spending in the public economy is even more perplexing.

One approach to explaining consumer choices among economic goods is to use the concept of utility. A good does not need to be useful but it must be wanted. But there is a change in the utility of a good as the householder obtains more units of it, especially during a relatively short period of time. The marginal utility of a good may be defined as the extent of desire for one more unit of it. The theoretical explanation of the amount of money we spend on education goes somewhat as follows: The increments of satisfaction from the last dollar spent on schooling equal the additional satisfaction received from spending that dollar for clothes, automobiles, television sets and other economic goods. That is, if the household wants to maximize the satisfaction to be derived from its income, no transfer of purchase from one good to another can increase satisfaction. This theory may explain in part consumer spending in the private economy but it is to be doubted that it adequately explains householder spending for education in the public economy. For example, if a householder wants a good produced in the private economy, he alone uses it and he alone pays for it. But if he wants a good produced in the public economy, it must be paid for by taxes. However, controversies over what taxes are to be levied may obscure the utility of a public good.

Many other theories have been advanced to explain householder choices of alternative spending patterns. For example, Thorstein Veblen[6] advanced the theory that the rich householders, in order to demonstrate their eminence, engage in conspicuous consumption and that other householders ape the rich as far as their means allow. James S. Duesenberry[7] has presented the more charitable theory that there is in people the basic drive for self-esteem. With increased income comes the desire to buy better quality goods. Each contact with a better quality good tends to demonstrate its superiority to the householder. In order to maintain his self-esteem, the householder decides that the better quality good must always be obtained.

The householder ranks some goods as superior and others as inferior but how he does so is unknown. John Kenneth Galbraith[8] has suggested that the householder follows the mores of our society by considering publicly financed goods and services, as a class, to be inferior to privately financed goods. Galbraith also gives great emphasis to the manufactured demand for privately financed goods through advertising. Since most education is financed through the public economy, these factors may be of some significance in determining householder choices.

In analyzing the allocation of resources, I have applied the standard economic concept of the scarcity of economic goods. This concept, when applied to production, seems to lead to the conclusion that if we choose to produce or consume more of one good, we must also choose to produce or consume less of some other good. My hypothesis is that this conclusion is fully valid only in an economy of full employment with a shortage of physical capital, undergirded by a stagnant technology. During the past fifty years we have not had full employment except during war years or the years immediately before and after wars. We have had critical, overall shortages of physical capital only during those same years.

Our technology has certainly not been stagnant. However, we have had a shortage of capital goods in the form of trained people during this entire period of time. But those of us who have been engaged in efforts to increase the investment in education have constantly encountered the economic argument that if we invest more in education we must invest less in the private economy and this will injure the total economy. My hypothesis stated in another way is that in an economy such as exists in the United States—which may seem to be characterized by chronic unemployment, surpluses of material goods and a rapidly advancing technology —*we are not necessarily compelled to have less of one good in order to have more of another*. This may appear illogical to an individual because it may seem to him that if he spends more for one good he must have less of other goods. But the individual usually takes a micro-economic view of the economy.

Actually there should be no competition in the American economy between investment in people and investment in the private economy. The fact seems evident when we study the investment in physical capital in the private economy. When we expanded our plants for the manufacture of automobiles, we did not reduce our potential for investing in the physical capital needed for the production of steel, building materials, household furniture, farm machinery and all the other goods needed for a growing private economy. Actually as we invested in the physical capital needed to produce one type of material good, we seem to have increased our potential for investing in other types of capital goods. In our growing economy, we do not have a fixed supply of money, goods or people which must be carefully apportioned, as is no doubt necessary in a subsistence economy. The only real shortage we have in our economy is a shortage of trained people which can only be alleviated by increased investments in improved programs of education.

THE BENEFITS OF EDUCATION

Whether the input of finances into education can be considered as an investment is determined largely by the benefits received by the individuals who receive the education and the benefits received by society. Those two classes of benefits will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

The Individual Benefits of Education. The individual benefits of education are so obvious that it would seem unnecessary to measure them. However a number of researchers have attempted to measure the additional individual benefits obtained on the basis of different levels of education. Houthakker,[9] in 1959, computed that high school education, in addition to an eighth grade education, increased lifetime income 41 percent and that four years of college education increased lifetime income 60 percent over the amount received by a high school graduate.

Miller,[10] in 1960, estimated that high school education, in addition to eighth grade education, increased lifetime income 43 percent and that fours years of college education increased lifetime income 65 percent over the amount received by a high school graduate. These studies indicate that different levels of education result in wide differentials in lifetime income, but these differentials cannot be attributed solely to education. Neither researcher discounted for differences in ability, inherited wealth, or business opportunity at the various levels of schooling. Denison[11] has estimated that these differentials should be discounted 40 percent in order to make adequate allowance for non-educational factors affecting lifetime income. Even when discounted by 40 percent, the differentials in lifetime income caused by different levels of education are quite substantial. Attention also is directed to the fact that the data used by Houthakker and Miller were all gathered prior to 1960. It is very probable that the differentials in lifetime income due to different levels of education will be much greater in 1980 than in 1960.

Becker and Schultz made a different approach to computing the value of education to the individual. They conceptualized financial inputs into education as an investment and compared the interest return on investment in education with the interest return on investment in the private sector of the economy.

Becker[12] made a carefully designed study to determine the rate of return from the investment in college education, allowing for the generally higher ability of the college student. He found that the rate of return on the investment in college education by urban white males, including income forgone by the students, was 10 percent in 1950 before taxes. When the social cost of college education (the cost not borne by the student or his parents) was added to the individual cost, the rate of return before taxes was approximately 9 percent. Becker also estimated that the rate of return from investment in the physical capital of incorporated and unincorporated business was approximately 8 percent during that period.

Schultz,[13] using a research design similar to Becker's, estimated that the rate of return on an invesment in college education was 11 percent in 1958. He also estimated the rate of the return on investment in education for the entire labor force in 1957. He computed the rate of return on investment in elementary education to be 35 percent, in high school education to be 10 percent, and in college education to be 11 percent. He made appropriate discounts for differences in ability, for unemployment and for mortality. Schultz, like Becker, included income forgone by the individual as a part of the costs of education.

Neither Becker nor Schultz attempted to measure the value of the social returns of education or to add it to the individual returns. Therefore, both Becker and Schultz greatly underestimated the rate of return from the investment in education. Due[14] has advanced the concept that setting prices on government services (determining the amount to spend on a government service) equal to marginal costs would insure optimum output of those services only if there were no indirect benefits to the community in addition to those benefits accruing to individuals. In other words, if the returns from the investment in education are to be compared with the rate of return from allocation to other sectors of the economy in order to determine the amount to invest in education, the value of the social benefits of education must be added to individual benefits in order to compute total returns. The value of the social returns from education are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The Social or Indirect Benefits of Education. It is much easier to measure the cash benefits of education to the individual than to convert the social or indirect benefits into dollars. However a number of researchers have attempted to make appraisals of the social benefits of education. One of the most significant of these studies was made by Denison.[15] He made a careful study of the growth rate of the gross national product (GNP) between 1929 and 1957 and the factors causing that growth rate. He identified factors making both positive and negative contributions to the growth rate. His positive factors contributed 109 percent and the negative factors 9 percent, making a net of 100 percent. Following are the relative contributions by all of the sources making a positive contribution: increased employment, 34 percent; increased capital input, 15 percent; increased education, 23 percent; increased knowledge, 20 percent; economies of scale associated with growth of the national market, 9 percent; and other factors, 8 percent. The traditional view of some classical economists was that increased inputs of capital and labor can account for all economic growth. However, the study by Denison shows that increased inputs of capital and labor accounted for only 49 positive percentage points out of 109 or 45 percent of the total. *Increased inputs of education and knowledge accounted for 43 percentage points out of 109 or, 39 percent of the total.*[16] Of even more significance was Denison's findings with respect to growth rate of the economy per person employed. Denison stated: "When related to growth of national product per person employed the contribution of education appears still more impressive. My final estimate is that education contributed 42 percent of the 1.60 percentage point growth rate in product per person employed."[17]

Kendrick made an extensive study of the economic growth rate between 1889 and 1957. After assessing the rise in productivity, he concluded: "Since the real private domestic product grew at an average annual rate of 3.5 percent over the same 68 year period, it is evident that about half the growth in output was accounted for by additions to real labor and capital inputs, and half was contributed by increases in efficiency with which the inputs were utilized, i.e., in productivity. . . ."[18]

Fabricant[19] studied the rate of increase of the national product. He found that between 1919 and 1957 the annual rate of increase of the GNP was 3.1 percent, and the weighted input of labor and capital was only 1.0 percent. This left most of the increase in production unexplained by the increased inputs of capital and labor. Fabricant suggested that investments in education, research and development, and other intangible capital might account for the unexplained growth in the GNP.

Schultz,[20] starting with the work of Kendrick and Fabricant, attempted to determine what percent of the unexplained increase in the GNP was attributable to investment in education. He made estimates of the appropriate proportions of educational expenditures to allocate to consumption and to investment. Assuming a 9 percent return on the investment in education, he estimated that 36 percent of the unexplained increase in the GNP could be attributed to investment in education; assuming an 11 percent return, education explained 44 percent of the unexplained increase, and; assuming a 17.3 percent return, education explained 70 percent of that increase.

A number of other economists have made similar studies of the effect of investment in education on growth in the national economy. While the findings of these studies differ in detail, *all of the economists who have seriously researched this matter have concluded that investment in education has a vital effect on economic growth.* Assuming that growth in the national economy, accompanied by a rising standard of living, is an important national, state and local goal, then the demonstrated positive effect of increased investment in education on the attainment of *this goal alone*—without considering other social benefits—is a sufficient social benefit to justify large increases in the financial inputs for education from all levels of government.

There are many social benefits of education that cannot be readily quantified. Economic goods differ greatly in their public versus their private utility. For example, it makes no difference to the householder whether another householder buys a television set, an automatic dishwasher, an automobile or almost any other type of a material economic good. But it does make a great deal of difference to a householder if other householders do not consume or invest in certain types of non-material goods such as education. An educated householder could hardly enjoy or profit greatly from his education if he lived in a society of illiterates. For this and many other reasons, every advanced country has made education compulsory up to certain age levels. Weisbrod[21] pointed out that education, in addition to benefiting the student and his present and future family, also benefited the student's neighbors, fellow workers, employers and society in general. He suggested that these external benefits provided justification for compulsory attendance laws as well as for public financial support.

The great mobility of the population of the United States is a national phenomenon. Statistics are not available which show the percent of the pupils educated in the 24,000 school districts of the nation who spend their adult producing years in a school district other than the one (or ones) in which they were educated. However, it is safe to estimate that more than half of them do so. The exchange of the benefits of the investment in education are far from even among districts. The greater the number of school districts and the smaller their size, the greater the difference in the exchange of benefits. Also, the higher the proportion of the school budget provided from local taxes, the greater the differentials in the exchange of benefits. In general, the district that is gaining in population imports more benefits than it exports and a district that is losing population exports more benefits than it receives. Furthermore many of our great core cities which are neither decreasing or increasing in population have been exporting to the suburbs the most productive people that have been educated in the district and importing great numbers of the least educated and least productive people even from remote areas of the country. Weisbrod, after studying this problem, concluded that "Population mobility and fiscal interdependence make education decisions in one part of the nation important to other, even distant, parts."[22] He also concluded that "Growing population mobility brings growing external effects of education, and thereby may be expected to lead to increasing efforts to shift the financial burden of education from local to higher level governments."[23]

Another method of studying the social benefits of education is to consider *the cost of not educating people*. The crime rates and the rates of dependency on public welfare or private charity are many times greater among those without sufficient education to enable them to succeed in present day society than among those who have an adequate education. The direct cost to the taxpayer of keeping a man in prison may range from $3,000 to $4,000 per year in terms of 1967 prices. This does not include the cost to other individuals of the crime committed or the social cost which may be incurred by the prisoner's family being forced on relief. How much of the more than one hundred million dollar property loss in the Detroit riots of 1967 was due to failure to provide sufficient education for the migrants who had settled in Detroit's ghettos? It is difficult to make a valid estimate but, as one views the future, it is reasonable to predict that the economic cost of failing to educate the population will be far greater than would be the cost of the additional financial inputs necessary to provide the quality and the quantity of education necessary for all of the people.

An attempt has been made in this section to present concepts from the science of economics which have value in enabling us to appraise the role of education in the future of the nation. However, it should be noted that concepts from economics are not the only bases on which we should plan education for the future. For example, our system of popular government could not long exist without a population sufficiently educated to make the decisions essential for the survival of our social system with its numerous subsystems of government. The viability of each level of government is dependent largely on the educational level of the components of the social systems comprising that level of government and on the interaction of those social systems. In other words, ultimately we cannot have the highest attainable quality of national government, state government or local government unless the talents of all people, wherever they may live, are fully developed. The same thing can be said for the myriad social systems that comprise the private sector of our economy.

SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

Modern behavioral scientists and systems engineers have found general systems theory extremely useful in conceptualizing and researching many types of organizational problems. The "systems" approach to conceptualizing organizational problems is rapidly becoming standard operating procedure. For example, economists and industrial and systems engineers are now using systems analysis as a guide for making many organizational decisions. Input-output models designed to analyze costs and benefits have proved to be extremely useful in making decisions in business and industry. The models are based on the assumption that resources for inputs are scarce and therefore that the decisions made concerning alternative choices of resources should result in the optimization of outputs or the maximization of profits.

It is being urged by some that this same approach should be used as a basis for making educational decisions. The systems analysis approach has already been used with profit in making certain types of educational decisions. Its use no doubt will be further extended. However a systems analysis of an educational system is infinitely more complicated than it is in business and industry. The goal of a business or industry is quite simple —to make a profit. The market provides a quick assessment of whether a business or industry is making a profit or losing money and also how much. This information is provided weekly, monthly and annually. On the other hand the school system has many goals and sometimes it takes years to determine whether the inputs result in goal attainment. As pointed out previously, the schools provide individual benefits and also social benefits. The social benefits of education probably exceed the individual benefits. At this writing, no one has been able to quantify the social benefit of education with sufficient accuracy to develop a valid cost-benefit equation which would be useful in making decisions on alternative choices of inputs for the educational system. As has been indicated earlier, the two major classes of inputs into the public school system are student inputs and financial inputs. The public school system cannot manipulate student inputs as is done in some private schools by refusing to admit slow learners or the culturally disadvantaged. For example if a school system would refuse to admit the slow learners and the culturally handicapped, it could increase the average amount of learning per student per dollar of financial input. This alternative is not available to public schools because the social costs of failing to develop the talents of slow learners and the culturally disadvantaged would be far greater than the amount of money saved by not providing educational opportunities for them.

Despite the difficulties of applying systems analysis to educational decision making, it should be utilized when feasible. Systems analysis theoretically should be valuable for assisting in making decisions with respect to the allocation of financial resources to alternative types of inputs which can be purchased. Here again we run into the difficulty of determining the relative weights to assign to the optimization of social benefits and individual benefits. However, the difficulties of applying systems analysis to education decision making are not insurmountable if alternative assumptions are made concerning desired educational outputs.

The remainder of this chapter provides first a brief treatment of some of the issues involved in the financing of higher education and second a more detailed treatment of some of the major problems and issues involved in financing the public schools.

Some Issues in the Financing of Higher Education

Only brief attention is given in this chapter to the financing of higher education. This is not because the subject is unimportant but because it is so important it can not be treated adequately in the space available for this paper. Therefore only some broad generalizations concerning the financing of higher education will be presented.

The number of students enrolled in institutions of higher learning has been increasing at the rate of more than 10 percent per year. Most of this increase has been in the tax supported institutions of higher learning. This rate of increase will no doubt continue for some years to come. The tax support for these institutions has been increasing rapidly and the pressure for further increases will no doubt continue. The costs of higher education are rapidly increasing for actual and potential students. This has brought on a demand for increased scholarships provided from public funds. Legislatures in some states have attempted to solve this problem by increasing the tuition charged students. This is a short sighted policy.

The average cost of providing public higher educational services in 1967 was approximately $1,500 per equivalent full time student. The average cost of tuition to students enrolled in public institutions of higher learning was from $300 to $400 in 1967. (The tuition for out-of-state students was much higher.) Therefore the average cost to the taxpayer was only approximately $1,100 to $1,200. The cost to the resident student was not only the $300 to $400 paid for tuition but also the income forgone which could be conservatively estimated at $4,000 annually. Therefore the cost to the student for going to college averages from $4,300 to $4,400 annually. This is approximately four times the cost to the taxpayer. Furthermore, the student, when he graduates from college, generally will have a higher income. Thus, he will soon refund to the state—in the form of higher taxes paid—all of the cost to taxpayers of his education. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, a person with a higher level of education provides additional social benefits to the community. This comes as a clear profit to the community and state. Therefore the taxpayer can well afford to pay the entire cost of public higher education.

It is dysfunctional to society to attempt to finance the increasing costs of higher education by increasing tuition and fees. If the student is required to pay the fees himself, the benefits of a higher education may be denied to him because he may not be able to do so. Some would argue that the state should provide scholarships for such students. It would be an odd policy to increase fees to avoid increasing appropriations for higher institutions and then provide appropriations for scholarships so that students could pay the fees. If the policy of increasing fees to finance higher education is based on the assumption that primarily the students whose parents are able to pay the fees should have the opportunity for a college education, one wonders how such an assumption can be reconciled with the principles of American democracy.

Methods of determining the educational need of institutions of higher learning are in a primitive state of development. In some states that have separate governing boards for each higher institution, the educational need of the respective institutions is determined by their relative lobbying strength. There is considerable waste in some states due to unnecessary duplication of expensive educational programs with small enrollments in several institutions. This is similar to the waste in the public schools caused by the maintenance of unnecessary, small expensive schools. In fact, coordinated long-range planning in higher education is not yet found in even a majority of the states.

In order to plan for long-range financing of higher education, each state needs either a single board for all higher institutions or a board with the authority to coordinate budget requests and program offerings of the state institutions with separate boards. The principles of the planning-programming-budgeting system (PPBS) should be applied to long-range and short-range financial planning for institutions of higher learning. The problems of financial planning for institutions will not all be solved even when an appropriate system of governing state institutions of higher learning is established. The problem of computing the relative financial needs of different types of educational programs and services provided in institutions of higher learning is extremely complicated. Much additional research is needed in this area.

The method of financing junior or community colleges, especially vocational and technical institutes and schools, depends largely upon how those institutions are organized and administered. If such institutions are centrally controlled and administered by the state, they should be entirely supported by the state and ideally no fees should be charged to students.

If these institutions are administered and controlled locally, it is reasonable to expect the local units administering these institutions to contribute financially to their support in proportion to their relative taxpaying ability. The foundation program formulas described later in this chapter can readily be adapted for use in apportioning state funds to these institutions. Although experience has shown that local financial support has stimulated local interest in these institutions, the major part of their revenue should be derived from state and federal sources. Local financial support for junior colleges and special vocational and technical institutes and schools should be provided from local tax sources and not from fees charged to students.

Some Major Problems and Issues in Financing the Public Schools

The evidence on the economics of education presented in the first part of this chapter shows clearly that expenditures for education will not only need to be increased greatly in gross amount but also that by 1980 a higher percent of the gross national product will need to be allocated to educational expenditures than at the present time. Therefore, in the years ahead major policy decisions will have to be made with respect not only to the quality and quantity of education to be provided but also with respect to what types of taxes will be used to finance education, what levels of government shall levy those taxes, and what methods of distribution shall be used by central governments to apportion funds to educational spending agencies. These policy decisions will be discussed in relation to the financing of the public schools in this section.

TYPES OF TAXES TO USE FOR FINANCING THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

There are only four major types of taxes levied by the federal, state and local governments. Those taxes in order of importance are personal income taxes, corporation income taxes, sales and excise taxes and property taxes. These four types of taxes provide approximately 94 percent of the revenue receipts of all governments combined in the United States. Therefore, as we plan the future financing of the public schools in the United States, major policy decisions will have to be made with respect to what use will be made of each of these types of taxes in financing the public schools.

What types of taxes are most equitable? If the relative freedom from regressive features of a tax are considered as the best test of equity, then the types of taxes listed in order from most equitable to least equitable are: personal income taxes, corporation taxes, sales and excise taxes and property taxes. The federal government obtains more than 80 percent of its revenue from the two most equitable types of taxes, personal and corporation income taxes; state governments receive almost 60 percent of their tax revenue from sales and excise taxes and approximately 17 percent from personal and corporation income taxes; local governments, excluding schools, receive more than 80 percent of their local tax revenue from the least equitable major tax source, property taxes. School districts receive approximately 98 percent of their local tax revenue from property taxes.

All taxes must be paid from past income, present income or future income. Therefore *the tax source for support of government, including schools, should bear a rational relationship to the source of income.* The possession of property is becoming less related to income than in former years. For example, in 1928, the compensation of employees comprised 58 percent of the total national income; in 1967, approximately 70 percent. In 1967, approximately 90 percent of the total national income consisted of compensation paid employees, corporate profits and unincorporated business and professional income. All of these sources of income can be taxed more equitably and rationally by income and sales taxes than by property taxes.

LOCAL SUPPORT

The only source of local tax revenue available to most school districts in the United States is the property tax. As previously pointed out, approximately 98 percent of local school revenue is derived from property taxes.

The question might be raised, "Why not authorize local boards of education to levy local non-property taxes?" This has been tried in a few states without much success. Most school districts do not have the local governmental machinery available to levy any type of tax other than the property tax. Actually it would be difficult to give most school districts access to any local tax other than the property tax. For example, authority to levy a local sales tax would be of little or no benefit to a district that had few or no retail establishments. A local sales tax could be levied and collected by a large municipal district if it were given the legal authority to do so. But *the effect of such a tax would be to give a wealthy municipal district the authority to tax the residents of less wealthy rural districts who come to the municipal districts to make purchases.* This can hardly be considered good public policy. Actually all major types of non-property taxes can be administered more efficiently and equitably by state governments or the federal government than by local school districts. Therefore, it is not sound public policy to attempt to solve the problems of financing the public schools by giving school districts the authority to levy non-property local taxes.

The wide variations in the taxpaying ability of the people of the 24,000 local school districts in the United States have been documented many times. In states organized into numerous small local school districts, the most wealthy district may have 100 or more times the per pupil wealth of the least wealthy district. Even in states organized into local school districts as large as a county, the most wealthy district usually has five to fifteen times the per capita wealth of the least wealthy district. Combining small districts will greatly reduce variations in per capita wealth but it will not eliminate all significant variations. In most states there are large areas where only poverty can be consolidated. Therefore the need for revenue from central governments would remain even after all feasible district consolidation is accomplished.

It can also be argued that it is inequitable to permit local boards of education to levy property taxes on business and industrial property. This is particularly true with respect to a manufacturing establishment. In the case of large manufacturing establishments, most of the products are purchased by non-residents of the school district. The manufacturer passes local taxes on in the prices of his products to the purchasers. Thus, the people of the district in which the factory is located are able to transfer a substantial part of the incidence of their local taxes to the residents of other districts.

A good measure of the relative wealth of school districts is the extent to which a school district is able to shift the incidence of its taxes to the people living in other jurisdictions. For this reason, it has been suggested from time to time that local governments, including school districts, be prohibited from levying local property taxes on business and industrial properties, and that the state should levy both property and income taxes on such properties and share the proceeds with local governments.

One can find numerous instances in the United States where territory has been gerrymandered into school districts which constitute islands of wealth or islands of poverty. When school districts where the per capita wealth is very high are gerrymandered so as to include business and industrial properties, the local property taxes for schools are relatively low. This arrangement enables business and industrial properties to escape their fair share of school taxes. This problem will undoubtedly be given further study in the future. It seems safe to predict that it will be resolved either by prohibiting the levy of *local* property taxes on business and industrial property or by equalizing the ability of local governments, including school districts, to finance governmental services through equalizing grants-in-aid. The second of these alternatives as applied to school districts is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

What arrangements then should be made for local school financing, assuming that we will continue the policy of local participation in public school financing? Despite the objections to the property tax, it is the only tax that can be levied by all school districts. Therefore, local school financing is concerned largely with the levy of property taxes for current operation, the issuance of bonds to be repaid from taxes levied on property, and the administration of the property taxes. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to go into detail concerning local school financing. However, the following minimum essentials must be provided if local school financing is to be viable:

1. Boards of education should be fiscally independent of other local governmental bodies.

2. Boards of education should be given the authority to levy a maximum of 10 to 15 mills of taxes *on the market value* of property without a vote of the people, but *there should be no limit on the taxes which the people vote on themselves.*

3. Boards of education should be given the authority to issue school bonds for capital outlay purposes up to a reasonable percent of the true value of property without a vote of the people. The board should have the authority to issue bonds in addition to this amount up to a reasonable maximum upon approval by a majority vote of the people. As pointed out later in this chapter, the state should use its credit for assisting boards of education in financing capital outlay in order to prevent accumulation of local debt to the point where it becomes burdensome.

Summarizing, it is evident that *future planning of school financing must anticipate greater reliance on non-property taxes.* In 1967, approximately 8 percent of the revenue receipts of the public schools was provided by the federal government, 40 percent by the states and 52 percent from local sources. What will be the respective shares of the different levels of government in 1980? If due consideration is given to the economics of education, the equity of taxation, the sources of income of the people and the equalization of educational opportunity, the respective shares in 1980 will probably approach 25 percent federal, 50 percent state and 25 percent local.

PROSPECTS FOR INCREASED FEDERAL SUPPORT

It is difficult to predict future federal policies for the financing of the public schools at this writing. The continuation or the cessation of the war in Viet Nam, or of other international crises, will undoubtedly affect federal policy on the financing of public schools. However, over the long run, it is safe to predict that federal participation in the financing of the public schools will continue to increase. The national interest in adequate education throughout the United States is too great for any other policy to be advisable. At the present time, practically all federal support for the public schools is in the form of categorical grants. Although these categorical grants have been of great benefit to many public schools, it is extremely difficult to fit such grants into a balanced program of school financing. It is not proposed that these categorical grants be abolished. They have been of particular value in stimulating states and local school districts to make desirable innovations that otherwise would not have been made.

As indicated in the discussion of social systems theory, the stimuli for change come both from within the social system and from without the system. For example, very few school systems were making any effort whatsoever to provide compensatory education for the children of the culturally disadvantaged. After the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, this desirable policy became common throughout the United States. Outside inputs of categorical aids are of particular value in stimulating certain types of innovations. But a balanced program of school financing cannot easily be formulated exclusively from categorical aids. Therefore it is hoped that future increases in federal aid will for the most part be in the form of general grants-in-aid.

The Development of Theories Concerning State Provisions for Financing Schools

Various aspects of the problem of state support have been studied intensively by many researchers since the beginning of the century. A number of early theorists on state support made major contributions to the conceptual designs. A brief summary of some of the contributions of these early theorists is presented in the following paragraphs.

IMPORTANT EARLY THEORIES

Cubberley. Cubberley made the first comprehensive study of this problem. In a famous monograph published in 1905, he made the following important observations concerning the state's responsibility for providing educational services:

> The state owes it to itself and to its children, not only to permit of the establishment of schools, but also to require them to be established,—even more, to require that these schools, when established, shall be taught by a qualified teacher for a certain minimum period of time each year, and taught under conditions and according to requirements which the state has from time to time seen fit to impose. While leaving the way open for all to go beyond these requirements the state must see that none fall below.[24]

He conceptualized the state's financial responsibility as follows:

> Theoretically all the children of the state are equally important and are entitled to have the same advantages; practically this can never be quite true. The duty of the state is to secure for all as high a minimum of good instruction as is possible, but not to reduce all to this minimum; to equalize the advantages to all as nearly as can be done with the resources at hand; to place a premium on those local efforts which will enable communities to rise above the legal minimum as far as possible; and to encourage communities to extend their educational energies to new and desirable undertakings.[25]

Cubberley studied the methods of apportionment of state school funds in use at that time and concluded that most of them were undesirable. He found that returning the tax funds to the area in which they were collected, the total population and the school census were particularly undesirable bases for apportionment. He considered teachers employed to be the best single measure upon which to base the apportionment of state school funds although he did not believe that any one measure should be used exclusively. It is interesting to note that "teachers employed" generally is more closely related to the more refined measures of educational need, such as "weighted pupil" and "typical teacher" later developed by Mort,[26] than to any unadjusted pupil measure.

Among Cubberley's important findings are the following:

1. Due to the unequal distribution of wealth, the demands set by the states for maintaining minimum standards cause very unequal burdens; what one community can do with ease is often an excessive burden for another.

2. The excessive burden of communities borne in large part for the common good should be equalized by the state.

3. A state school tax best equalizes the burdens.

4. Any form of state taxation for schools fails to accomplish the ends for which it was created unless a wise system of distribution is provided.

Updegraff. Updegraff[27] accepted most of Cubberley's concepts and made some further advances in the theory of state support. He proposed a very interesting variable-level equalized foundation program. His plan provided for different guarantees of funds per teacher unit from a combination of state and local revenues depending upon the amount of local taxes levied. For example, if a district levied 3½ mills on the true valuation of property, it would be guaranteed, from state funds, the difference between the yield of the 3½ mill levy per teacher unit and $840. That is, if a district levying 3½ mills had a valuation of only $5,000 per teacher unit, it would raise $18 per teacher unit in local funds and receive $822 per teacher unit from state funds, making a total of $840. On the other hand if a district had a valuation of $235,000 per teacher unit and levied 3½ mills, it would receive a state grant of only $17 per teacher unit and would raise $823 from local taxes making a total of $840. This plan provided for complete equalization among the local districts at any given tax level. But his plan went much further. The state would continue to match the local funds raised by the district up to 9 mills at the same ratio of state to local funds for a higher guaranteed level per teacher unit. For example if a district with an assessed valuation of $5,000 per teacher unit levied 9 mills of local taxes, it would be guaranteed $2,160 per teacher unit; $45 from local funds and $2,115 from state funds. The district having an assessed valuation of $235,000 per teacher unit would also be guaranteed $2,160 of revenue per teacher unit; $2,115 from local funds and $45 from state funds. This plan did not meet with much favor at the time it was proposed. However at the present time a number of modern state support plans have incorporated some of Updegraff's concepts.

Strayer and Haig. Strayer and Haig further advanced the concepts of equalization of educational opportunity and equalization of school support and stated those concepts as follows:

> There exists today and has existed for many years a movement which has come to be known as the "equalization of educational opportunity" or the "equalization of school support." These phrases are interpreted in various ways. In its most extreme form the interpretation is somewhat as follows: The state should insure equal educational facilities to every child within its borders at a uniform effort throughout the state in terms of the burden of taxation; the tax burden of education should throughout the state be uniform in relation to tax paying ability, and the provision for schools should be uniform in relation to the educable population desiring education. Most of the supporters of this proposition, however, would not preclude any particular community from offering at its own expense a particularly rich and costly educational program. They would insist that there be an adequate minimum offered everywhere, the expense of which should be considered a prior claim on the state's economic resources.[28]

Strayer and Haig then presented the following model of state support for incorporating the principles they had outlined:

1. Compute the cost of a satisfactory minimum educational offering in each district of the state;

2. Compute the yield in the district of a uniform state mandated local tax levy on the equalized valuation of property;* and

3. Provide the difference between the cost of the minimum program and the yield of the required minimum tax levy from state funds.

Mort. Mort developed the basic techniques for applying the Strayer-Haig model of state support. It was necessary to develop a defensible plan for measuring the cost of the state assured minimum program before that model could be used. This involved; (1), determining the elements to include in the minimum program; * (2) the computation of units of educational needs; and (3) the conversion of units of need into dollars.

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*The original model proposed that the amount of the mandated local levy be determined by the amount of the local tax levy required in the richest district to provide for the entire cost of the minimum program in that district. This concept was later modified to include other factors in determining the amount of the mandated local levy.

Mort developed the following criteria for determining the elements to include in the minimum or foundation program:

> 1. An educationaal activity found in most or all communities throughout the state is acceptable as an element of an equalization program.
>
> 2. Unusual expenditures for meeting the general requirements due to causes over which a local community has little or no control may be recognized as required by the equalization program. If they arise from causes reasonably within the control of the community they cannot be considered as demanded by the equalization program.
>
> 3. Some communities offer more years of schooling or a more costly type of education than is common. If it can be established that unusual conditions require any such additional offerings they may be recognized as a part of the equalization program.[29]

Mort's criteria for determining the elements to include in the foundation program are still as valid as when they were written. Unfortunately only a few states, even today, include in their foundation program all of the elements proposed in Mort's criteria.

Mort then developed standard units of measurement of educational need which he called the *weighted pupil* and *typical teacher*.** Briefly, he developed his measures by computing the typical number of teachers for a given number of pupils in elementary and high schools and in large and small schools. He found that the pupil teacher ratio was greater in elementary than in high schools and greater in large schools than in small schools. He computed the extent of these differentials in terms of their relationship to the typical number of pupils per teacher in large elementary schools, which he found to be 27. This involved weighting the pupils sufficiently in high schools and small schools so that a smaller number of pupils would equal a typical teacher or a classroom unit. This weighting was done by dividing the needed pupil teacher ratio into 27 and multiplying the quotient by the average daily attendance. This procedure converted all pupils in a school system into *weighted pupils of equivalent cost*. The number of classroom units or teacher units could be readily computed by dividing the number of weighted pupils by 27. Actually classroom units needed can be computed first and then weighted pupils can be computed by multiplying the classroom units needed by 27.

Mort's techniques, and modifications of those techniques, for computing weighted pupils or classroom units have been found to be very useful in computing foundation program costs.

Local financial ability to support the foundation program is computed under the Strayer-Haig-Mort formula by multiplying a state-mandated uniform local levy by the equalized valuation of property in each district. The yield of this levy is subtracted from the computed cost of the foundation program in order to determine the state funds needed. This method of computing local taxpaying ability was recommended because the property tax is the only tax that most boards of education can levy. Therefore, what is needed is not a theoretical measure of taxpaying ability, but rather a measure of the local tax revenue which can be tapped by local school districts.

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*Today commonly called the foundation program.

**Later called classroom unit, teacher unit, or instruction unit.

Obtaining an accurate measure of the equalized or market value of taxable property in each district has been a problem in many states. Local assessors vary widely in most states in their policies relating to the percent of market value at which property is assessed. *This problem can be rectified only by the establishment of a state agency with the authority to equalize assessments throughout the state or at least with the authority to compute the equalized value of property in each school district.* If a state fails to establish adequate state supervision of property assessments, the only alternative available is to utilize an economic index to estimate the equalized value of property in each district. A few states which have failed to establish a state agency with adequate authority to supervise local assessments are using economic indexes to estimate the equalized valuation of property in each district. While this method has proved to be fairly satisfactory, it is not considered as desirable as equalized valuations computed by an adequately staffed state agency.[30]

Morrison. The last of the early theorists that we shall mention is Morrison.[31]. His concepts differed greatly from the Cubberley and the Strayer-Haig-Mort conceptual designs. They have been adopted in only one state, Hawaii. Morrison noted that constitutionally education is a state function and that local school districts have failed to provide that function efficiently or equitably. He also asserted that attempts to equalize educational opportunities by enlarging school districts, by providing state equalization funds, or by providing state subsidies for special purposes had all failed. Morrison then proposed a model of state support which involved the abolition of all local school districts and the state itself becoming both the unit for all taxation for the support of schools and for the administration of schools. Morrison's concepts have not generally been well received because they are outside the mainstream of American political thought which places great emphasis on the value of local government.

Alternative Models for State Participation in Public School Financing

As we plan the financing of education in the future, it is desirable that financial models be developed that will integrate the funds received by the public schools from federal, state and local sources into a plan that will tend to equalize educational opportunity and optimize the output of the school social system. In the following section, eight different formulas for financing of public schools are presented. The reader will note, on the basis of the analysis, that Formula 5, when combined with either Formula 7 or 8, is more defensible than the others. All, however, are presented in order that a more complete range of alternative formulas may be considered. Although major emphasis is given in these formulas to provisions for integrating state funds with local funds, some of the formulas can readily be adapted for the inclusion of federal funds in the total plan.

Researchers have demonstrated that the goals of equalization of educational opportunity and equalization of tax effort cannot be achieved by an uncoordinated group of categorical grants or by a system of distribution of state funds based on the school census or any other unweighted pupil or teacher measure. Therefore all such plans of state support are deemed so undesirable as to be unworthy of consideration. However, there are a number of models of state support in use today which vary considerably in their utility. The most important models are presented in the following paragraphs and their advantages and disadvantages are considered briefly.

SOME ASSUMPTIONS

In order to compare these different models of state support, the relative effects of each of these models on three representative districts are determined. The following assumptions are made with respect to those districts:

1. District X has an equalized valuation of $2,000 per weighted pupil or $50,000 per adjusted classroom unit; District Y, $15,000 per weighted pupil or $375,000 per adjusted classroom unit; and District Z, $30,000 per weighted pupil or $750,000 per adjusted classroom unit. District X is the least wealthy district in the state, District Z the most wealthy and District Y has the same valuation as the state average equalized valuation per weighted pupil or adjusted classroom unit.

2. These districts are all similar in total number of pupils, geographical size, scatter of population and in educational need as measured by weighted pupils or classroom units.

We will assume also that while the state does not have unlimited funds, the people desire to provide a reasonably adequate foundation program for all prospective students in the state regardless of where they live, and that they also wish to stimulate local initiative in education. Let us also assume that a study commission appointed by the governor with the consent of the legislature has determined that the cost of a reasonably adequate foundation program of education in that state in terms of 1967 prices was $400 per weighted pupil or $10,000 per adjusted classroom unit, based on 25 weighted pupils per adjusted classroom unit. We will further assume that there is a tax limit of 15 mills on the *equalized* valuation that may be certified by the board without a vote of the people as the operating levy for schools. It should not be assumed that the writer is recommending a tax limit of 15 mills. This number is used only for purposes of illustration. What are the feasible alternatives that the legislature of that state could consider?

FORMULA 1. COMPLETE STATE SUPPORT OF THE FOUNDATION PROGRAM

Under this model the state would provide $400 per weighted pupil or $10,000 per classroom unit entirely from state funds; local financing in addition to the state supported foundation program would be optional. Since we started with the assumption that the state had limitations on the potential state revenue available, this alternative might not be available. Furthermore, since the state would provide the entire cost of the foundation program from state funds, the legislature would probably reduce the local tax limit, subject to board certification, below 15 mills. Finally, if the entire cost of the foundation program were provided entirely from state funds, even though the legislature permitted the 15 mill board certifiable tax to remain, experience with this type of model has shown that it is difficult to persuade the people to permit the board to levy a substantial amount of local supplementary taxes in many school districts. Despite these limitations, Formula 1 is applied to Districts X, Y and Z to show the potential effect of this formula, assuming that the state can find the revenue to finance such a program and assuming that all districts will levy the optional 15 mills of local taxes.

TABLE I

PLAN FOR COMPLETE STATE SUPPORT OF FOUNDATION PROGRAM
(Application of Formula 1.)

	Amount Per Weighted Pupil			*Amount Per Classroom Unit*		
District	*From the State (Col. 1)*	*From the Optional 15Mill Levy (Col. 2)*	*(Totals, Cols. 1 and 2) (Col. 3)*	*From the State (Col. 4)*	*From the Optional 15 Mill Levy (Col. 5)*	*Total (Col. 6)*
X	$400	$ 30	$430	$10,000	$ 750	$10,750
Y	400	225	625	10,000	5,625	15,625
Z	400	450	850	10,000	11,250	21,250

It will be noted from columns 1 and 4 that the amount of *state* funds allotted per weighted pupil or per classroom unit is exactly the same for all districts. This would provide for complete equalization of educational opportunity and complete equalization of tax effort provided no optional local taxes are levied. If local taxes were prohibited, this formula would become the Morrison model provided local school districts were also abolished.

If it is assumed, however, that all possible additional local taxes are levied, columns 3 and 6 show that the amount of funds available per unit of need would be approximately twice as much in District Z (the wealthiest) as in District X (the poorest) but the state and local tax effort would be the same. Therefore Formula 1 does not equalize educational opportunity if school districts have authority to supplement the state supported foundation program with local taxes.

Experience has shown that states using a plan based on Formula 1 have had great difficulty in getting the legislature to support a high level foundation program if it is financed entirely from state funds. Political consensus can be obtained under this formula only for an average level of program. Furthermore local initiative is not stimulated under this formula. When local supplementary taxes are optional and, especially in conservative school districts, the prevailing point of view is that the foundation program provided by the state bears state approval and therefore does not need to be supplemented. The general increase in taxes at all levels of government and the rising cost of living are currently creating increased taxpayer resistance to taxes. Such resistance increases the difficulty of obtaining the supplementary local taxes necessary for a district to be innovative and to provide a program of education above the level of mediocrity. Therefore the assumption in Table 1 that all districts will levy all optional taxes permitted is not likely to be realistic. The most probable assumption regarding the effect of Formula 1 is that most districts will levy no optional local taxes or will make a very low levy. Therefore *a dead level of average mediocrity would prevail throughout the state with only a few systems attempting to provide a quality of education substantially above the average*. Local interest is not promoted in education by Formula 1 primarily because the people do not participate directly in school financing. The general feeling under this plan seems to be "let the state do it."

ADDITIONAL ASSUMPTIONS

Let us assume: (1) that the legislature has rejected Formula 1 partly because the state revenue system does not provide sufficient funds for the state to establish a reasonable foundation program supported entirely from state funds; and (2) that it also objects to this formula because it provides no incentive for local initiative.

In that case, it would be reasonable to assume that: (1) the legislature would decide that the public schools should be supported by some combination of state and local taxes; (2) that several different plans would be presented to the legislature; and (3) that the legislature would want to test the effects of each of these plans. We will assume further that, in order to compare these plans, the legislature has reached the conclusion that it will mandate (require all districts to levy) a local tax of 10 mills* on the equalized valuation of property in each district and will supplement the yield from this levy by state funds provided by some appropriate type of formula. In this situation the legislature selected 10 mills because it noted that the yield from this levy would provide 37.5 percent of the cost of a $400 foundation program per weighted pupil (or $10,000 per adjusted classroom unit) in the district of average wealth, and that the state would need to provide 62.5 percent of the total amount required. The state funds available would provide only approximately an average of $250 per weighted pupil (or $6,250 per adjusted classroom unit.)

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*The conclusion should not be reached, on the basis of this assumption, that a mandated local levy of 10 milles is being recommended by the writer. It is being used only for purposes of illustration. A mandated levy of 7 or 8 or 9 mills could have been used just as well for testing these different formulas.

In the following sections a number of different models of state support are examined. All of these are based on the assumption that the state will mandate a levy of 10 mills on equalized valuation in each district and that an additional local levy of not in excess of 5 mills will be optional with the board. These formulas are simplified by eliminating special elements of need such as transportation in order to make the comparisons easier. It is assumed in the models set forth on the following pages that transportation costs are equal in these districts and provided for by a supplementary measure of need. Actually, practically all foundation costs can readily be computed on the basis of weighted pupils or classroom units, except for the cost of certain auxiliary services such as transportation and tax support provided for the school food service. In the table for Formula 1 both the amounts per weighted pupil and the amounts per classroom unit that would be received from the state and from local levies are given for each district. In subsequent tables only the amounts available per classroom unit from these sources are included. Thus, the tables can be kept relatively simple so that the differences among the formulas can readily be recognized. Those who prefer to consider the differences in terms of amounts per weighted pupil will need only to divide the amounts in any column by 25.

FORMULA 2. STATE FLAT GRANT OF A UNIFORM AMOUNT PER CLASSROOM UNIT

Since the legislature had available approximately $6,250 per classroom unit (or $250 per weighted pupil) this formula was examined on the basis of the assumption that a flat grant of $6,250 per classroom unit would be made available to each district.

TABLE 2

STATE FLAT GRANT PLAN

(Application of Formula 2.)

	Amount Per Classroom Unit				
District	*From the State (Col. 1)*	*From Mandated 10 Mill Levy (Col. 2)*	*Assured for the Foundation Program (Totals, Cols. 1 and 2) (Col. 3)*	*From Optional 5 Mill Levy (Col. 4)*	*Total (Col. 5)*
X	$6,250	$ 500	$ 6,750	$ 250	$ 7,000
Y	6,250	3,750	10,000	1,875	11,875
Z	6,250	7,500	13,750	3,750	17,500

The sum of columns 1 and 2 of Table 2 (that is, column 3) gives the amount per classroom unit of the state guaranteed foundation. It will be noted under this plan that District X is assured a foundation program of $6,750 per classroom unit; District Y, $10,000 per classroom unit; and District Z, $13,750 per classroom unit. Thus, the pupils in the most wealthy District Z are guaranteed by the state a foundation program costing twice as much per unit as in the least wealthy District X. When the optional local tax of five mills is added, the differential is 2½ to 1. It is evident that Formula 2 only partially equalizes educational opportunity. However, any type of flat grant does have a substantial equalizing effect. If no state funds were provided, District Z would have 15 times the resources per pupil that would be available in District X. Formula 2 provides no incentives for levying the optional five mills in addition to the mandated levy nor does it assure the minimum foundation program of $10,000 per classroom unit in all districts.

Formula 3. Matching Mandated Local Funds With State Funds on a Dollar-for-Dollar Basis

This is an antiquated, discredited formula but is still suggested from time to time in state legislatures and, therefore, is presented for the purpose of examination. Since dollar-for-dollar matching would only provide $150 per weighted pupil (or $3,750 per classroom unit) in the district of average wealth, and the state has available $6,250 per unit, it would be necessary to match each dollar of local funds with 1⅔ dollars of state money in order to utilize all available state funds. This adjustment does not affect the relative impact of this formula on the three districts.

Table 3

State Plan for Matching Funds Derived From the Required Local Levy (Application of Formula 3 Adjusted)

	Amount Per Classroom Unit				
District	*From the State (Col. 1)*	*From Mandated 10 Mill Levy (Col. 2)*	*Assured for Foundation Program (Totals, Cols. 1 and 2) (Col. 3)*	*From Optional 5 Mill Levy (Col. 4)*	*Total (Col. 5)*
X	$ 833	$ 500	$ 1,333	$ 250	$ 1,583
Y	6,250	3,750	10,000	1,875	11,875
Z	12,500	7,500	20,000	3,750	23,750

By summing columns 1 and 2 of Table 3, it is found that poor District X will be guaranteed only $1,333 per classroom unit under this formula, whereas wealthy District Z will be guaranteed $20,000, or 15 times as much. After adding the yield of the optional 5 mill tax, the total amount available to District X is $1,583 per classroom unit and to District Z, $23,750 per unit or 15 times as much. *Therefore matching each local tax dollar with one dollar of state money or some multiple thereof provides no equalization whatsoever* because District Z had 15 times the wealth per unit of District X before the application of state funds. Formula 3 is *equivalent to distributing state funds back to the district where they were collected.* Despite the inequity of this formula, it is used by the federal government in distributing certain federal funds to the states.

Formula 4. Equalized Matching

Under this formula local funds are matched with state funds in the ratio that the equalized valuation of the district per classroom unit bears to the state average equalized valuation per unit. Let S equal the state average equalized valuation per classroom unit and D the equalized valuation of the district. Then the state funds received by the district equals $\frac{S}{D}$ times the local funds that are matched. This formula unadjusted assumes a ratio of 50 percent local funds to 50 percent state funds for the state as a whole and since we are making comparisons of our models on the assumption that the average ratio for the state would be 37.5 percent local to 62.5 percent state, it is necessary to multiply 1⅔ times the product of $\frac{S}{A}$ times the local funds matched in order to place these different formulas on a comparable basis. This adjustment does not affect the relative differentials that would exist among the districts under the unadjusted formula.

TABLE 4

EQUALIZED MATCHING PLAN

(Application of Formula 4 Adjusted)

	Amount Per Classroom Unit				
Dis-trict	*From the State (Col. 1)*	*From Mandated 10 Mill Levy (Col. 2)*	*Assured for Foundation Program (Totals, Cols. 1 and 2) (Col. 3)*	*From Optional 5 Mill Levy (Col. 4)*	*Total (Col. 5)*
X	$6,250	$ 500	$ 6,750	$ 250	$ 7,000
Y	6,250	3,750	10,000	1,875	11,875
Z	6,250	7,500	13,750	3,750	17,500

A comparison of Table 4 with Table 2 shows that equalized matching (Formula 4) provides exactly the *same amount of money per classroom unit to Districts X, Y and Z as is provided by the flat grant per classroom unit in Formula 2,* assuming that the same amount of state funds is apportioned under each plan. This fact is well known to specialists in state school finance but it is sometimes overlooked by state legislators; therefore it is presented for examination. Although the equalized matching formula is not useful for guaranteeing a minimum foundation program in all districts and it does not equalize educational opportunity any more than the flat grant formula, as pointed out later, it has some merit in that it provides state incentives for local districts to levy optional additional local taxes for schools.

FORMULA 5. THE STRAYER-HAIG-MORT MODEL

This formula involves the following steps: Compute the cost of the foundation program, deduct from the cost of that program the amount that can be raised by the district from a mandated minimum levy on the equalized valuation, and provide the difference from state funds. Let A equal the cost of the program, B equal the required minimum local tax effort in proportion to ability, and C equal the state funds to which the district is entitled. Then the formula becomes $A - B = C$. This formula, or adaptations of it, is now used to apportion more than 60 percent of all state school funds apportioned to local boards.

TABLE 5

STRAYER-HAIG-MORT MODEL FOR FOUNDATION PROGRAM
(Application of Formula 5)

	*Amount Per Classroom Unit**				
Dis-trict	*From the State*** *(Col. 1)*	*From Mandated 10 Mill Levy (Col. 2)*	*Assured for Foundation Program (Totals, Cols. 1 and 2) (Col. 3)*	*From Optional 5 Mill Levy (Col. 4)*	*Total (Col. 5)*
X	$9,500	$ 500	$10,000	$ 250	$10,250
Y	6,250	3,750	10,000	1,875	11,875
Z	2,500	7,500	10,000	3,750	13,750

*The leaders who developed this model favored the use of the weighted pupil unit and did not devote much attention to the potential of the classroom unit.

**The difference between the amount per unit derived from the 10 mill mandated levy (Col. 2) and $10,000 per classroom unit.

It will be noted from Table 5 that the sum of Columns 1 and 2 totals exactly $10,000 per classroom unit for each district. *Therefore the Strayer-Haig-Mort formula provides complete equalization of educational opportunity**** *and complete equalization of state and local tax effort up to the level of the foundation program guaranteed by the state.* Even when the optional local taxes are added to the amount available in the foundation program, District Z, the wealthiest district, has only 1.37 times as much revenue available per classroom unit as District X, the least wealthy district. However the *Strayer-Haig-Mort formula provides no state incentive for the district to levy local taxes in addition to the mandated state levy.*

It is interesting to note the effect in the Strayer-Haig-Mort formula of changing the amount of the required minimum local tax levy. Let us assume that the mandated local levy is reduced to six mills. Then, assuming that the $10,000 per classroom unit foundation program is still provided, the poorest District X would receive $300 per classroom unit from the 6 mill levy, $9,700 per unit from the state and $450 per unit from an optional 9 mill levy, making a total amount available of $10,450 per classroom unit. The wealthiest District Z would receive $4,500 per classroom unit from the six mill levy, $5,500 per unit from the state and $6,750 per unit from the optional 9 mill levy or a total amount of $16,750 per classroom unit. This is 1.6 times as much per weighted pupil as the potential amount available in District X. Therefore *reducing the amount of mandated local levy to support the foundation program has the effect of increasing the amount of state funds required to provide a foundation program at a given level and of reducing the extent to which educational opportunity is equalized.*

Strayer and Haig, in their original model, recommended that the mandated minimum levy be determined by computing the amount of the levy required to provide the entire cost of the foundation program in the richest district. The levy required in District Z, the wealthiest district, to finance the entire cost of a foundation program of $10,000 per classroom unit would be 13⅓ mills. Assuming a mandated local levy of 13⅓ mills in support of the foundation program, District X (the least wealthy) would receive approximately $667 per classroom unit from the mandated 13⅓ mill levy, $9,733 from the state and $83 from the optional 1⅔ mill levy* making a total potential amount available of $10,083 per classroom unit. District Z (the most wealthy) would receive $10,000 per classroom unit from the mandated 13⅓ mill levy, nothing from the state and $1,250 from the optional 1⅔ mill levy making a total amount of $11,250 available per classroom unit. This is only approximately 1.1 times as much as the potential amount available in District X.

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*Assuming that the measures of educational need incorporated in the formula are adequate.

The original Strayer-Haig formula ranks high on equalization but low in popularity among the wealthy districts of the state. Experience has shown that in order to obtain the political support of legislators from the wealthy urban districts, it is necessary to set the mandated local levy in support of the foundation program low enough so that the large urban districts will all participate substantially in the state funds apportioned under the foundation program. Another argument that has been advanced in favor of this policy is that in addition to using its taxing power for equalization, the state should use its superior ability to levy and collect non-property taxes to assist all districts to share in these types of taxes. However the state funds received would still be inversely related to taxpaying ability. On the other hand the mandated local levy should be set high enough to provide substantial equalization. Raising the level of the foundation program will also enable the more wealthy districts to share in the program. In the example just given, if the level of the foundation program were raised to $12,500 per classroom unit, District Z would receive $2,500 per classroom unit from the state even under a mandated levy of 13⅓ mills.

If a state is organized into numerous small districts that create islands of poverty and islands of wealth which result in large differences in per pupil wealth among districts, it is almost impossible to set a rational mandated levy which would enable the very small, extremely wealthy districts to receive state funds under the Strayer-Haig-Mort or any other defensible formula. The best solution for this problem is, of course, to reorganize the state into efficient districts. Pending this solution, some states have found it politically advisable to guarantee certain state flat grants per pupil to the districts excluded from participation in state funds under the Strayer-Haig-Mort formula.

When costs of educational services, such as transportation, which are not measured by weighted pupils, are added to the foundation program, these costs, in effect, become flat grants because no additional local tax effort is required to add these services. This is equitable because transportation costs are not uniform and some districts do not even have these costs. This feature of the Strayer-Haig-Mort formula makes it possible for any district to provide for unusual types of educational need without penalty.

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*The difference between the assumed combined levy of 15 mills and the 13⅓ mill levy required for District Z.

FORMULA 6. THE PERCENTAGE GRANT OR STATE AID RATIO FORMULA

The state's share of the cost of the foundation program of a district under this formula is computed by multiplying the cost of the foundation program of any district by 100 percent minus a predetermined percentage figure which, in turn, is multiplied by the quotient of the equalized value of property of the district divided by the state average equalized value of property per pupil. Let A equal the cost of the foundation program; D, the equalized value of property per pupil in the district; S, the state average equalized value of property per pupil; and E, the predetermined constant factor. Then the state aid for district under this formula equals the cost of the foundation program (A) multiplied by $1 - [\frac{D}{S} \times E]$

Despite its seeming complexity, *this formula gives exactly the same result as the Strayer-Haig-Mort formula when applied to measures of need based on weighted pupils or classroom units.* Let us apply this formula to a state which wishes to guarantee a foundation program of $400 per weighted pupil or $10,000 per classroom unit, but also desires to mandate a local levy of 10 mills on the equalized valuation in support of that program. In District Y, the district which has the state average wealth per pupil, the constant (E) would become 37.5 percent because a 10 mill levy in a district with a valuation of $15,000 per weighted pupil would require a state contribution of 62.5 percent of the total cost of its foundation program of $400 per weighted pupil. Substituting this value, the formula becomes $1 - [\frac{D}{S} \times .375]$.

If the mandated millage is increased, E is increased proportionately and if it is decreased, E is decreased proportionately.

Formula 6 is applied in our illustration in Table 6. It will be noted that the amount of state funds received by Districts X, Y and Z are exactly the same as the amounts received by these districts under the Strayer-Haig-Mort formula. It should be obvious to any one familiar with state support formulas that *the percentage grant or state aid ratio formula is only a mathematical manipulation of the Strayer-Haig-Mort formula.* Nevertheless even some writers on school finance seem to have missed that point.[32] The state percentage or state aid ratio for each district can readily be computed from the Strayer-Haig-Mort formula simply by dividing A, the cost of the program, by C, the amount of state aid provided.

TABLE 6

THE PERCENTAGE GRANT PLAN

(Application of Formula 6)

Amount Per Classroom Unit

District	*From the State (Col. 1)*	*From Mandated 10 Mill Levy (Col. 2)*	*Assured for Foundation Program (Totals, Cols. 1 and 2) (Col. 3)*	*From Optional 5 Mill Levy (Col. 4)*	*Total (Col. 5)*
X	$9,500	$ 500	$10,000	$ 250	$10,250
Y	6,250	3,750	10,000	1,875	11,875
Z	2,500	7,500	10,000	3,750	13,750

The chief objection to Formula 6 is that it is not as readily explained to legislators and the lay public as the Strayer-Haig-Mort formula. Even that formula, as simple as it seems to school finance specialists, is sometimes criticized as being "too complicated." When one uses a state support formula which is unnecessarily complicated mathematically, he lays himself open to a charge by legislators that he is playing "mathematical games" with them.

Formula 6 has a serious weakness if it is applied to all elements of school costs included in the foundation program. As pointed out above, if the entire cost of the foundation program is computed in terms of weighted pupils or classroom units, the computations obtained from Formula 6 are exactly the same as from Formula 5. But if transportation costs or other items not expressed in weighted pupils or classroom units are added to the cost of the program, then Formula 6 works a hardship on those districts having such costs because they would be required to pay the same percentage of these costs from local funds as they pay for that part of their foundation program costs computed in terms of weighted pupils or classroom units. Therefore states using Formula 6 should not include costs which are not measured in weighted pupils or classroom units in their foundation program but should provide for those costs in the form of flat grants. This further complicates procedures for distributing state funds.

Formula 6 can be used for providing state incentive grants for districts levying varying amounts of optional local levies beyond the mandated minimum levy. However, the same percentage factor or state aid ratio can just as readily be computed from the Strayer-Haig-Mort formula as from Formula 6. Formula 6, as described in this section, provides no state incentive for levying optional local taxes in addition to the mandated minimum levy.

FORMULA 7. AN EQUALIZED MATCHING INCENTIVE GRANT ADDED TO THE FOUNDATION PROGRAM

Under this formula an equalized matching grant (see Formula 4) is added to the foundation program such as provided for in Formulas 5 or 6 in order to stimulate local tax effort in addition to the local effort mandated in the foundation program. The purpose of providing additional state aid for additional local effort is to stimulate local boards of education to make necessary innovations and to move toward a quality level educational program. Experience has shown, that although the foundation program plan of state support has been very effective in improving educational opportunity, there is a tendency on the part of many districts to be satisfied with the minimum level of education provided in most state foundation programs. State foundation programs have become relatively static in a number of states; therefore several students of school finance are now recommending that an incentive or leeway element be included in or added to the foundation program.

Table 7 shows the application of the equalized matching concept of Formula 4 utilized to match the potential additional local revenue that could be obtained from the optional levy of 5 mills. These funds are added to the amounts received under Formula 5 or 6. It will be noted from Column 4 that equalized matching is in reality a flat grant of $375 per classroom unit for each additional mill levied beyond the mandated 10 mill levy up to a total of 5 optional mills. It is assumed in the table that each district levies the full 5 mills of optional taxes. However some districts might not do so. It will of course take additional state funds to provide an incentive grant of any kind. The legislature will need to decide whether more educational benefits will be obtained by using this additional money for an incentive grant or by using it to raise the general level of the foundation program. It would seem that more educational benefits could be obtained after the foundation program has reached a reasonably satisfactory level by using the additional amount for an incentive grant because such a grant would stimulate additional local effort.

TABLE 7

EQUALIZED MATCHING INCENTIVE GRANT PLAN TO SUPPLEMENT THE FOUNDATION PROGRAM

(Application of Formula 7)

Amount Per Classroom Unit

District	*From State Under Either Formula 5 or 6 (Col. 1)*	*From Mandated 10 Mill Levy (Col. 2)*	*Assured for Foundation Program (Totals, Cols. 1 and 2) (Col. 3)*	*From Optional 5 Mill Levy (Col. 4)*	*From State Equalized Matching of 5 Mills* (Col. 5)*	*Total (Col. 6)*
X	$9,500	$ 500	$10,000	$ 250	$1,875	$12,125
Y	6,250	3,750	10,000	1,875	1,875	13,750
Z	2,500	7,500	10,000	3,750	1,875	15,625

*Based on provisions of Formula 4.

It will be observed from Column 6 that District X would have $12,125 per classroom unit available under this plan and District Z, $15,625. District Z would have 1.29 times as much money available per unit as District X under Formula 7 as compared with 1.37 under Formulas 5 and 6. Therefore *Formula 7 not only provides an incentive for local effort but it also has some equalizing effect.*

FORMULA 8. AN INCENTIVE GRANT PROVIDED BY MATCHING OPTIONAL LOCAL TAXES IN THE SAME RATIO OF STATE TO LOCAL FUNDS AS PROVIDED IN THE FOUNDATION PROGRAM

As pointed out above, the ratio of state to local funds in the foundation program can readily be computed from either Formula 5 or 6. It is

assumed that the Formula 8 type of incentive grant will be added to the foundation program provided for in either Formula 5 or 6. This type of incentive grant will require more state funds than Formula 7 if the state average percent of the cost of the foundation program exceeds 50 percent.

TABLE 8

AN INCENTIVE PLAN TO SUPPLEMENT THE FOUNDATION PROGRAM (Application of Formula 8)

	Amount Per Classroom Unit					
District	***From State Under Either Formula 5 or 6 (Col. 1)***	***From Mandated 10 Mill Levy (Col. 2)***	***Assured for Foundation Program (Totals, Cols. 1 and 2) (Col. 3)***	***From Optional 5 Mill Levy (Col. 4)***	***State Incentive Fund* (Col. 5)***	***Total (Col. 6)***
X	**$9,500**	**$ 500**	**$10,000**	**$ 250**	**$4,750**	**$15,000**
Y	**6,250**	**3,750**	**10,000**	**1,875**	**3,125**	**15,000**
Z	**2,500**	**7,500**	**10,000**	**3,750**	**1,250**	**15,000**

***Based on provision for state to match any or all of optional local 5 mill levy in same ratio of state to local funds as in Formulas 5 or 6.**

Table 8 shows that the incentive plan to supplement the foundation program would raise the foundation program level to $1,500 per classroom unit in all districts that levied all possible optional mills of local taxes. ***This plan provides for complete equalization of educational opportunity in all districts willing to make the same local tax effort in proportion to ability and it provides a powerful incentive for additional local effort,*** **especially in the less wealthy districts.**

COMPARISON OF FORMULAS 1-8

Tables 9 and 10 present comparisons of all eight formulas. While it is true that Formulas 1, 7 and 8 require more state funds than the other formulas, it is possible to compare all of these formulas in certain respects. If it is assumed that the most important purposes of state school support are to equalize educational opportunity, to equalize the tax effort to support the foundation program, ***to provide state incentives for local effort to make needed educational innovations, and to enable school districts to move toward a quality education,*** **then—of the formulas presented in Tables 9 and 10—Formula 8 is the best one to accomplish these purposes and Formula 7 the next best.**

TABLE 9

COMPARISON OF TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED BY EACH DISTRICT UNDER FORMULAS 1 THROUGH 8

	The Level of the Foundation Guaranteed in Districts X and Z per Classroom Unit #		*Total Potential Revenue Available Per Classroom Unit to District X and Z From All Sources*		*Ratio of Amount Available Per Classroom Unit in District Z (Col. 4) to the Amount Available in District X (Col. 3)*
*Formula**	*District X (Col. 1)*	*District Z (Col. 2)*	*District X (Col. 3)*	*District Z (Col. 4)*	*(Col. 5)*
1	$10,000	$10,000	$10,750	$21,250	1.98 to 1
2	6,750	13,750	7,000	17,500	2.50 to 1
3	1,333	20,000	1,583	23,750	15.00 to 1
4	6,750	13,750	7,000	17,500	2.50 to 1
5	10,000	10,000	10,250	13,750	1.34 to 1
6	10,000	10,000	10,250	13,750	1.34 to 1
7	10,000	10,000	12,125	15,625	1.29 to 1
8	10,000	10,000	15,000	15,000	1.00 to 1

#Formulas 1, 7 and 8 require more state funds than Formulas 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 and therefore they are not strictly comparable with those formulas. However Formulas 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 require approximately the same state funds; therefore they are quite comparable.

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*Exclusively from state funds for Formula 1 and from a combination of state and local funds for the other formulas.

NOTE: The level of the foundation program guaranteed in District Y (average wealth) would be $10,000 per classroom unit under each of these Formulas.

Formula 5 is the only defensible basic or foundation program formula presented in these tables. Formula 6 would be equally defensible for most aspects of the program except for the fact that it is complicated and difficult to explain. The other formulas fall so far short of accomplishing the major purposes of state aid that they cannot be classified as acceptable. Formulas 1, 2, and 4 provide the same amount of state aid per pupil or classroom unit to all districts regardless of variations in per pupil wealth; Formula 3 provides more state aid per pupil or classroom unit for the more wealthy districts and less for the less wealthy districts. Formulas 5, 6, 7 and 8 provide more state aid per pupil or classroom unit for the less wealthy districts than for the more wealthy districts.

TABLE 10

COMPARISON OF STATE FUNDS RECEIVED BY EACH DISTRICT UNDER FORMULAS 1 THROUGH 8

	State Funds Received for Foundation Program Per Classroom Unit		*State Funds Received for Incentive Program Per Classroom Unit*		*Total State Funds Per Classroom Unit**	
Formula	*District X (Col. 1)*	*District Z (Col. 2)*	*District X (Col. 3)*	*District Z (Col. 4)*	*District X (Col. 5)*	*District Z (Col. 6)*
1	$10,000	$10,000	$ 0	$ 0	$10,000	$10,000
2	6,250	6,250	0	0	6,250	6,250
3	825	12,500	0	0	825	12,500
4	6,250	6,250	0	0	6,250	6,250
5	9,500	2,500	0	0	9,500	2,500
6	9,500	2,500	0	0	9,500	2,500
7	9,500	2,500	1,875	1,875	11,375	4,375
8	9,500	2,500	750	1,250	14,250	3,750

*District X (the least wealthy) has an equalized valuation of $50,000 per classroom unit; District Y, $375,000, and District Z, (the most wealthy) $750.000.

NOTE: District Y (average wealth) would receive $10,000 from the state for the foundation program under Formula 1 and $5,000 under each of the other formulas; It would receive no state incentive funds under any of the first 6 formulas, $1,875 under Formula 7 and $3,125 under Formula 8. The total funds received from the state if the optional 5 mills were levied would, therefore, be $6,875 per classroom unit under Formula 7 and $8,125 under Formula 8.

AN ADAPTATION OF THE STRAYER-HAIG-MORT FORMULA

Morphet and Johns have developed an adaptation of the Strayer-Haig-Mort formula which is now used by a number of states.[33] Although the measure, "weighted pupil," is very useful in developing state support programs, they found it complicated and very difficult to explain to a legislature and to other groups. They found it much easier to explain the term "classroom unit" or "instruction unit." Legislators can visualize a teacher working with students, or a librarian, or a counselor or any other person rendering an instructional service. Since the measure "classroom unit" is derived from weighted pupils, it is a function of that measure and just as useful.

The original Strayer-Haig model, as developed in detail by Mort, provided that the entire cost of the foundation program would be computed in terms of a fixed amount per weighted pupil (or even per classroom unit) based on averages for all costs except transportation. It is true that all costs except transportation and certain other types of auxiliary services can readily be computed in terms of weighted pupils or classroom units. Legislators frequently have questioned these flat amounts per pupil unit of need. For example, let us consider the $400 per weighted pupil used in the formulas presented earlier in this chapter. Legislators can well ask: How do you know that it requires $400 per weighted pupil to provide an adequate program? What does that figure include? What expenditures are you trying to conceal in those figures? If we increase the foundation program from $380 per weighted pupil to $400, how do we know that we will receive any better quality or any increase in the quantity of education?

For these reasons, Morphet and Johns developed a budget plan for expressing the cost of the foundation program. This budget is divided into four major categories as follows: (1) instruction (professional services); (2) transportation; (3) other current expenses; and (4) capital outlay and debt service. All of these foundation program costs are computed in terms of classroom units except transportation. Classroom units are computed in accordance with the procedures developed by Mort but modified to fit modern educational needs and conditions. This plan for calculating educational need is a budget system based on educational needs and educational services provided. That is, if a school system provides more educational services within the range of services included in the foundation program, it will receive additional state funds. This feature provides a powerful incentive for providing additional services.

Under this plan, adapted from the Strayer-Haig-Mort model, basic classroom units are allotted to school systems according to scales somewhat similar to those developed by Mort, based on size of necessary schools. In addition to the basic units, other units are allotted for teachers of vocational education, teachers of exceptional children, teachers of the disadvantaged, teachers of adults, supervisors and certain other types of administrative and special instructional service personnel, provided the services are furnished by the local school system. Furthermore additional proportionate allotments are made of classroom units if a system provides an extended school term or services beyond the regular term. No increase in local effort is required for any of these services.

This plan provides also for additional classroom units if kindergartens or junior colleges are provided but some additional local effort may be required if these services are included in the foundation program budget of need.

In summary, this adapted plan provides for the following procedures in determining the cost of the foundation program: (1) calculate the cost of instruction by multiplying the allotted classroom units by appropriate cost scales; (2) calculate the amount alloted for transportation by cost scales which give due consideration to the number of pupils transported and the density of transported pupils. (3) calculate the amount allotted for other current expenses by multiplying the number of classroom units by a flat amount determined by an analysis of the amount needed for a teacher unit; and (4) calculate the amount allotted for capital outlay and debt service by multiplying the number of classroom units by a flat amount determined by the average annual depreciation costs of school plants. These items are totaled in order to determine the total cost of the foundation program and from this amount is deducted the yield from the mandated local levy as in Formula 5. The difference is then made available from state funds.

Provision is also made under this plan for the state to extend its credit to local boards so that they may anticipate their annual capital outlay and debt service allotments through a state agency that issues long term bonds for this purpose, which will be repaid from the annual capital outlay and debt service allotments accruing to the district. This procedure relates capital outlay financing to capital outlay needs rather than to the local borrowing capacity of a board.

Morphet and Johns have also recommended that an incentive factor similar to that described in either Formula 7 or Formula 8 be included in their adaptation of the Strayer-Haig-Mort Formula.

Much emphasis has been given in recent years to improving the quality of education. Numerous attempts have been made to measure the quality of education. One of the best measures of the quality of the services of a school system is the breadth of educational services it provides.

A school system which provides services such as the following is inevitably a higher quality system than one which provides only a minimum of these services: a broad program of secondary education which meets the needs of all pupils by providing extensive programs in vocational and technical education as well as a broad program for those who are college bound; an enriched program of elementary education and early childhood education; special educational services for the handicapped as well as the gifted; an extended school term during the summer months; adult and continuing education; good libraries, good laboratories and good shops; counselors and other instructional services needed; adequate administration and supervision; and, prompt action on desirable educational innovations. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, a school system is a social system with numerous sub-systems. These systems all interact with each other. The services just enumerated tend to make the interactions of the sub-systems within the school system productive. That is, the improvement of one subsystem tends to improve the total system.

Breadth of educational services alone will not assure quality education. There are different quality levels for each type of service. Experience has shown that the most important factors affecting variations in the quality of a particular educational program are the level of financing and the adequacy of leadership and management.

The adaptations in the state support model developed by Morphet and Johns based on educational services provided are more directly aimed at improving school quality than the original Strayer-Haig-Mort model. This method of calculating the cost of the foundation program might be termed a type of program budgeting. It could also be considered an adaptation of a planning-programming-budgeting system (PPBS) for determining the cost of the foundation program. This methodology also lends itself more readily to systems analysis than any other state support model.

In conclusion, it is believed that the best available model of state support for meeting educational needs between now and 1980 is the adapted Strayer-Haig-Mort model (Formula 5) combined with the incentive features of either Formula 7 or Formula 8.

Planning Improvements in Provisions for Financing Schools

On the basis of information and techniques now available it is possible for every state to develop a program for financing schools that will assure reasonably adequate opportunities for all students and a close approximation to equity for all taxpayers. Present provisions in some states constitute little more than a series of patchwork steps that fail to meet the needs and are inequitable for both students and taxpayers.

Three conclusions seem to be obvious: (1) if the findings of economists are accepted, a much greater investment in education will be essential in most states to assure continued socio-economic progress; (2) a sound and carefully developed finance plan will be essential in every state to assure maximum returns from all expenditures and adequate opportunities for all students; and (3) a properly developed comprehensive foundation plan incorporating incentives for quality education seems to hold more promise for meeting the needs than any other approach developed thus far.

Any defensible plan for financing the schools must be based on, and designed to facilitate the achievement of, sound educational objectives and the implementation of an appropriate educational program planned to meet the needs of a rapidly changing national and international society. For any legislature to seek merely to distribute the funds currently available in a manner designed to provide some help for all schools, or for certain areas of present concern, would only result in inadequacies that would ultimately handicap the state.

The fact should be recognized that the program of education now provided in many school systems does not even meet present needs and is obviously inadequate to serve future needs. All available evidence points to the conclusion that not only the curriculum and instructional procedures but also the provisions for organization and operation of school systems and schools must be significantly modified to meet the needs of people and the requirements for living in an increasingly technological society. Thus, the use of "average practice" in a state to determine the units of need for the level of support for the foundation program should be clearly recognized as an obsolete practice that will not make it possible for the schools to meet emerging needs.

The finance plan should, therefore, be designed to serve future as well as present needs. In other words, the plan should not include provisions that would tend to inhibit changes in the curriculum, introduction of team teaching or the use of para-professionals, provisions for the use of technology in the improvement of instruction, the reorganization of districts, the construction of facilities that can be readily adapted to changes, or other appropriate developments. It should facilitate needed changes and encourage bona fide state and local leadership and responsibility for improving the educational program.

MEASURES OF EDUCATIONAL NEED

Measures of need or cost allowances for other aspects of current expense are woefully inadequate in many states; a few do not even include transportation in the state finance plan. But even more serious in many respects, because of the potential long range handicaps for educational programs, is the untenable assumption in many states that the financing of school facilities should be entirely, or almost entirely, a local responsibility. For the state to provide funds to help pay the salaries of teachers and other personnel who have to work under unfavorable conditions is obviously poor economy.

One of the first steps in planning or revising a foundation program is to develop objective measures of *educational need* that are reasonably open-ended, and can easily be adjusted or expanded as the program changes. This means that instructional units (based on objective criteria for determining the number needed) will be provided for programs typically offered in all elementary and secondary schools and also that units will be provided for kindergartens or early childhood education, special services including counseling in elementary as well as in secondary schools, special programs for the physically, mentally, emotionally and culturally handicapped, vocational education, community colleges, adult education, facilitating personnel, provisions for instructional activities during the summer months, etc. Limiting units to the traditional kinds of personnel or to the traditional program will no longer suffice. Most measures of educational need currently in use are no longer adequate.

OTHER IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE FOUNDATION PROGRAM

The finance plan should provide for a comprehensive foundation program rather than for a few aspects or elements. While some categorical aids may be defensible under certain conditions, the objective should be to include practically all needs as a means of facilitating coordination and making clear that all aspects of the educational program are interrelated.

But the development of a comprehensive and equitable plan for measuring all aspects of need and determining realistic dollar values for the various units and components of the program constitutes only one important step in the planning process. The provisions for assuring that necessary funds are available to finance the program are so inadequate or inequitable in many states that the entire foundation program concept has come under severe but unfair criticism, even by substantial numbers of educators. The remedy should not be to throw out the baby because the bathwater has been contaminated, but rather to find how to eliminate the contamination.

Serious difficulties in planning the financial aspects of the program in many states are encountered because of factors such as the following.

- The tax structure of the state may be faulty or seriously inequitable.
- The sources of support for schools may not be closely related to the sources of income of the people and, rather typically, this results

in too-heavy reliance on the property tax. (The state may not provide a sufficient proportion of the total cost from non-property tax sources).

- The ratio between assessed and actual value of property may vary greatly among the countries or other local units and thus, it may be very difficult to measure equitably local ability to support schools. (This is still a very serious problem in most states and should be resolved promptly to avoid further complications.)
- Provisions for integrating and utilizing funds for educational purposes from federal, state and local sources to achieve the objectives of the foundation program may be defective.
- The amount provided to support the program may represent little more than a gesture; in fact it may be so inadequate that the program is not realistic.

THE EIGHT ROCKY MOUNTAIN AND BASIN STATES

The eight states involved in the Project *Designing Education for the Future* are rather typical of the states across the nation in terms of problems and progress in developing and implementng a realistic foundation program of school support and in designing a plan to meet future needs. Because of the sparse population in most of these states, many rural areas have a larger proportion of small isolated schools than a majority of other states. Two have no districts smaller than a county or city but even some of these may be inadequate and uneconomical. One state cannot legally have any unified districts until the laws are changed. All of the others, in spite of some progress in reorganization, have substantial numbers of small and inadequate districts that complicate the problem of developing a sound finance plan.

Few of these states provide kindergartens, have extensive programs of adult education, provide for summer programs, have adequate services in the field of special education or appropriate programs of vocational education except in a limited number of districts. Only one state includes provision for capital outlay and debt service in its foundation program, or, in fact, provides any significant funds for this purpose. One state provides no funds for transportation.

At least two of the states rely almost entirely on flat grants. Several have a variety of funds, some of which, while small, tend to promote conflicting purposes. Most have made a beginning on a foundation program approach, but the measures of need tend to be inadequate and practically all encounter serious problems in measuring local ability and effort In all of these states the amount included in the foundation program is inadequate to meet the needs; in a few it is so limited that there is a serious threat of teacher sanctions.

Utah has developed a comprehensive foundation program that apparently is as sound in principle as any to be found in the nation. It was one of the pioneers in developing and incorporating in its foundation program an incentive or leeway provision to encourage quality education in districts that are willing to levy additional local taxes for school support. However, the present Utah plan omits some important measures of educational need and provides an inadequate level of support in terms of emerging needs.

In Summary

The development of adequate plans for an educational program designed to meet emerging needs is essential in every state, but cannot be implemented effectively until a defensible plan for financing the program has been developed and implemented. The finance plan should be in the nature of a comprehensive foundation program, preferably based on Model (Formula) 5 with adaptations designed to encourage program planning and budgeting, and supplemented by incentive provisions for encouraging additional effort to provide a high quality program of education, as indicated by Model 7 or 8. Once a state has developed and implemented a program that is sound in principle, it should need only to make periodic adjustments to meet emerging needs and changing conditions or to eliminate inequities.

However, the finance plan should be based on the design for the emerging educational program. This plan not only should make possible the implementation of the program but also should facilitate further changes as additional deficiencies are identified or new kinds of needs emerge.

As one basis for developing the finance plan, a careful study needs to be made to bring to light all deficiencies, inequities, inefficiencies—and the reasons therefore—in the existing program, in the organization and in the operation of education in the state. The information obtained from this study should be supplemented by information about emerging needs and programs that will need to be utilized in developing the plan for financing education. In designing this plan, the best models and procedures developed thus far should be utilized and supplemented by any new insights gained during the study.

While the background studies should be made and the technical aspects of the proposed program should be developed by persons who are knowledgeable in the field of educational finance, educators and lay citizens throughout the state should be kept as fully informed as possible. The state department of education is the logical agency to provide the leadership in conducting the studies and developing the proposed plan. However, the fact should be kept in mind that even the best plan that can be developed will not be adopted unless it has the support of lay citizens as well as of educators and is approved by the legislature. For that reason it would seem desirable for those who are primarily responsible for developing the plan to work from the beginning with an able and representative advisory committee that would review all studies and proposals and provide general guidance. This, in effect, is the procedure utilized in each of the eight states involved in this project in attempting to develop an adequate plan for financing schools in their respective states.

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